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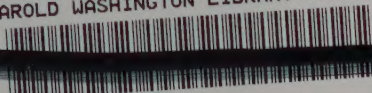
HYPOCRISIE UNMASKED

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Hypocrisie Unmasked

by

Edward Winslow

1646

The Sixth Publication of the Club for Colonial Reprints
of Providence, Rhode Island

ONE HUNDRED COPIES

No. 92.

Hypocrisie Unmasked

A True Relation

Of the Proceedings of the
Governor and Company of the *Massachusetts*
Against
Samuel Gorton of *Rhode Island*

By
EDWARD WINSLOW, *Governor*
of the *Plymouth* Colony

Reprinted from the Original Edition
issued at London in 1646
With an Introduction by
HOWARD MILLAR CHAPIN



The Club for Colonial Reprints
Providence, 1916

Introduction

By

Howard Millar Chapin

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AMUEL GORTON, styling himself variously, Gentleman, Citizen of London, Clothier, and Professor of the Mysteries of Christ, landed at Boston in the spring of 1637. He soon settled at Plymouth, where

he defied those in authority with vituperative condemnations. His chief complaints were that the magistrates disregarded the common law of England, and administered injustice by means of trials before packed juries which mocked at legal forms. His enthusiasm and his freedom of speech brought him into the power of the magistrates, by whom, on Tuesday, December 4, 1638, he was tried and banished from Plymouth Colony. He departed, with his family, to the newly-settled town of Pocasset upon the island of Aquidneck, now called Portsmouth upon Rhode Island. Here, already, the rivalry and animosity between the factions of William Coddington and of Anne Hutchinson had almost reached the danger-point, and was soon to break forth in an embittered controversy, which under various leaders was to rack and stunt for years the colony about Narragansett Bay.

Gorton joined the liberal Hutchinsonians, who for the nonce obtained the upper hand. By a coup d'état Gorton and Mrs. Hutchinson brought about the election of William Hutchinson, "a man of very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife," as judge in place of Coddington. In describing this conspiracy to his friend, Governor Winthrop, Coddington wrote: "It was hatched when I was last in the Baye, & the Lord, I hope, will shortely putt an esaw to it." Realizing that he was worsted, Coddington and his followers withdrew from Pocasset to the southern end of the island, where they founded Newport. Those who remained at Pocasset changed the name to Portsmouth, and drew up a new Civil Compact. In this document the hand of Gorton is evident, for its signers acknowledged themselves not only subjects of the King, but also obedient to his laws, or in other words subject to the common law of England.

Coddington was elected Governor by the Newport men, and immediately endeavored to extend his authority over the whole island. He had kept possession of the official records, and held in himself the title to the land, which latter advantage largely enabled him to regain the ascendancy. Gorton was tried, as at Plymouth, by an indigenous court, which had been sanctioned neither by the King nor by Parliament, and which did not show any particular regard for the forms and practices of English law. Gorton, convinced that the proceedings of the Court were extra-legal, and that he had as much right to try these self-appointed judges as they had to try him, yet feeling powerless against their superior physical force, lost his temper and tersely described various persons present by such expressive terms as "Just Asses," "saucy boys," and "Jack-an-Apes,"; called the Deputy Governor, William Brenton, "an Abetter of Riot, Assault, and Battery," and upon being commanded to prison, imperiously resisted the authority, and made open proclamation, saying, "Take away Coddington, and carry him to prison." Then the Governor said again, "All you that owne the King, take away Gorton and carry him to prison." Gorton replied, "All you that owne the King, take away Coddington, and carry him to prison."

The increase in Coddington's power made Gorton's residence at Portsmouth no longer possible, and in the winter of 1640/41 he removed to Providence. His familistic religious mysticism fascinated many, both at Plymouth and Portsmouth, and six or seven of his disciples with their families accompanied him to Providence.

On March 8, 1640/41, Roger Williams wrote: "Master Gorton having foully abused both high and low at Aquedneck, is now bewiching and bemadding poor Providence." His mysticism and his attacks upon the unchartered government evidently caused a considerable stir in Providence. On May 25, 1641, William Arnold wrote to the board of disposers, who governed Providence, and gave many reasons why the "said Gorton nor

his company are not fitt persons to be received in and made members of the town fellowship."

His opposition to the autogenous township inspired his followers to a riot on Monday, November 15, 1641, which led to the formation of three parties at Providence. Gorton and his friends openly defied the unchartered government. Roger Williams, at the head of the law and order party, endeavored to maintain the independent self-government of the town and to conciliate the hostile factions. The third party was led by the ambitious Arnolds, William and his son Benedict, who feared Gorton and were jealous of Williams. This last group of related families had built houses at Pawtuxet, some five miles south of Providence, on the west shore of the Bay. Holding Pawtuxet, they finally seceded from their neighbors and submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay Colony on September 8, 1642. This union, so clearly hostile to Gorton, led the Gortonoges, as he and his followers were called by the Indians, to move from Providence to the less accessible wilds and marshes of Shawomet, where they purchased land of the sachem Miantonomi, on the 12th of January, 1642/43.

Here, about ten miles south of Providence, on the coves which indent the western shores of Narragansett Bay, Gorton and his followers began to plant and build. The quarrels between the Gortonoges at Shawomet and their neighbors, the Arnolds at Pawtuxet, increased in intensity. The Arnolds complained, as Winslow relates, to their newly-adopted rulers, the magistrates of Massachusetts Bay, who thereupon summoned the Gortonoges to appear at the Boston Court. The latter, claiming subjection only to the English crown, refused to recognize the authority of Massachusetts Bay, and replied with a warrant for the Arnolds to appear for trial at Shawomet. The Massachusetts officials, seeing an opportunity to obtain the much-coveted "outlet into Narragansett Bay," forthwith sent an expeditionary army of forty men against Shawomet in

September, 1643. A battle ensued in which the Massachusetts Bay soldiery shot to pieces the English flag, which Gorton had raised upon his house. Happily, no one was killed. After a siege of several days the opposing commanders suspended hostilities and met in conference. By violating this truce, the Massachusetts' commander, Captain George Cooke, captured Gorton and his chief men, and then led them in a triumphal procession through Providence to Boston, where they were sentenced "to work for their living, and wear irons upon one leg and not to depart the limits of the town," during the pleasure of the court. Their property was confiscated to pay the expenses of the expedition, while their religious views were used to salve the consciences of the members of the court. Their families, left destitute, fled for refuge to Providence and Portsmouth.

Finding that Gorton and his company spread heretical doctrines where they were confined, the court, "not knowing what to do with them, at length agreed to set them at liberty" in March, 1644. Upon regaining their freedom, the Gortonogues returned to Portsmouth, and appointed commissioners, who joined with those of the other towns in acting under the recently-received Charter of 1643. Coddington refused to recognize this Charter, which Roger Williams had secured by personal application in London, and with his faction endeavored to "maintain the government as before," as he wrote to Winthrop in 1646. He continued his intrigues with Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, until his usurpation of power in 1651.

On Friday, April 19, 1644, soon after his release by Massachusetts Bay, Gorton obtained from the Narragansett sachems an act of submission and allegiance to the English crown. Armed with this and a fluent pen, he sailed for England in the autumn of 1645. Upon arriving in London, Gorton, on behalf of himself and his friends, petitioned the King and Parliament for redress and for reinstatement at Shawomet. He also published, in 1646, as a part of his campaign against his enemies: "Simplicities Defence against Seven-Headed Policy. Or a true

complaint of a peaceable people, being part of the English in New England, made unto the state of Old England, against cruell persecutors United in Church-Government;" a narrative of 111 closely printed pages recounting the unlawful and wicked actions of Massachusetts Bay in persecuting him and his followers.

The leaders of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, fearing the effect of Gorton's pen and tongue, commissioned Edward Winslow on December 4, 1646, to hasten to England and use his influence to counteract the work of the troublesome Gorton, and to further the ambitious territorial designs of these two colonies. As Governor Winthrop wrote: "Mr. Winslow's instructions were of two sorts; the one (which he might publish, etc. . . . The other were more secret, . . ."

The envoy, whom Roger Williams describes as "That great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow," was the scion of a landed family of Worcestershire. He was born at Droitwich, on Saturday, October 18, 1595. He traveled on the continent, when a young man, and became acquainted with the Rev. John Robinson in Holland. In 1617 he joined the separatist church at Leyden, and on May 16, 1618, was married there to Elizabeth Barker. The twenty-fifth anniversary of his birthday he celebrated, or at least passed, on board the *Mayflower*, during her famous voyage. His wife died March 29, 1620/21, and within two months he was married again, on May 12th, to the widow, Susanna White, whose six-months-old son, Peregrine, was the first English child born in New England.

Winslow took a leading part in the negotiations with Ousamequin, alias Massasoit, which resulted in the understanding between the Wampanoags and Plymouth. He explored Boston Harbor, traded with the Dutch, and remained on terms of the closest friendship with Massasoit. In 1623, he returned to England with Robert Cushman, as agent for the Colony, and in the next year issued his "Good Newes from New England: or A true Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of

Plimoth in NEW-ENGLAND. Shewing the wondrous providence and goodness of GOD, in their preservation and continuance, *being delivered from many apparant deaths and dangers.*" He returned to Plymouth in the spring of 1624, but in the summer again went to England on behalf of the Colony. In this year, 1624, he was elected a member of the Court of Assistants, the governing board of the Colony, which office he held, except when he was Governor, until his departure for England in 1646.

In 1633, Winslow was elected Governor of the Colony. He had from the first been the leader in managing the commercial affairs of this Colony, which was a business venture as well as a religious settlement, with financial backers who expected monetary returns. During the following year, when returning from a trading expedition, he stopped at Sowams to visit his old friend Massasoit. The humorous Indian sent a messenger to Plymouth announcing the sad tidings of Winslow's death, thus throwing the Colonists into mourning and lamentations. The next morning Massasoit, accompanied by Winslow himself, arrived at Plymouth to the stupefaction and delight of the Colonists. The Sachem explained that he had sent the false message in order to make their arrival more welcome.

In 1635, he again visited England on a diplomatic mission for Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth. He was accused by Archbishop Laud, a political opponent, of having solemnized marriages, although a layman, and upon being convicted of this, he was committed to the Fleet prison and kept there for seventeen weeks. After his return to Plymouth, he was again chosen Governor, in 1636. In 1643, Winslow represented Plymouth at the meetings of the Confederation of the United Colonies of New England; in 1644, was again chosen Governor; and in 1645 he was President of the Council of War at Plymouth.

In December, 1646, he was sent to England once more, this time to oppose the efforts of Samuel Gorton and of the Hingham petitioners, who from within, as Gorton from without, were agitating the question of the repeated violation of English law

by the theocratic despots of Boston. Winthrop described Winslow at this time as "a fit man to be employed in our affairs in England, both in regard to his abilities of presence, speech, courage and understanding, as also being well known to the commissioners," who directed colonial affairs at this time.

Upon reaching England, Winslow was confronted with Gorton's book describing the wickedness of the theocratic politicians of Plymouth and the Bay, and so in an unsuccessful attempt to discredit Gorton and his book, immediately wrote and issued "*Hypocrisie Unmasked By a true Relation of the Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts against Samuel Gorton (and his Accomplices) a notorious disturber of the Peace and quiet of the severall Governments wherein he lived . . .*" It is this work which, in the following pages, is printed for the first time in America.

A manuscript copy of what appears to have been a variant of part of Winslow's original draft was printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for 1850, with notes by Charles Deane.

A portion of Winslow's tract, that which deals with "the true grounds or cause of the first planting of New England," was printed by Alexander Young, in his "*Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*," in 1841, pp. 379-408.

The complete text of each of the other tracts of this controversial series is accessible in nineteenth-century editions. Gorton's "*Simplicities Defence*" forms the second volume of the *Rhode Island Historical Society's Collections*, Providence, 1835, with notes by William R. Staples. It was printed again at Washington, D. C., in 1846, as No. 6 in the fourth volume of Peter Force's "*Tracts*."

Child's "*New England's Jonas*" was reprinted in 1816 in Vol. IV of the second series of the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, pp. 107-120. It also made No. 3 in the fourth volume of Force's *Tracts*, Washington, 1846.

It was again reprinted, with an introduction by W. T. R. Marvin, by Wm. Parsons Lunt, at Boston in 1869.

Winslow's reply to Child, "New-England's Salamander," was reprinted at Boston in 1830 in Vol. II of the third series of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, pp. 110-145.

"Hypocrisie Unmasked" was reissued in England in 1649, the dedication being omitted and replaced by a table of contents, and the title being changed to "The Danger of tolerating Levellers in a Civill State; or an Historicall Narration of the dangerous, pernicious practices and opinions, wherewith Samuel Gorton and his levelling accomplices so much disturbed and molested the several Plantations in New England . . ." The body of the book is made up of the same sheets as those which had appeared with the original title-page. The omission of the dedication to the Earl of Warwick was doubtless due to the fact that by that time Warwick had shown himself opposed to Winslow's petition, and the change in the title seems to have been made in order to lift the book from the sphere of local political interest to the then broader field of theological discussion, and so enable the bookseller to dispose of the copies remaining on his shelves.

In refuting the more serious of Gorton's charges, Winslow admits many which he considered of less importance, and so inadvertently gives a not very pleasing picture of New England's more powerful colonies.

The present reprint has been made from the copy of "Hypocrisie Unmasked" which is preserved at the *Library of Congress*. The copy of "The Danger of Tolerating Levellers," which is preserved in the Lenox Collection of the *New York Public Library*, has been followed for the table of contents. The title pages are reproduced from the copies at the *Boston Public Library*.

The Reprint

The title-page, *The Danger of Tolerating Levellers*,
and the two pages of *Contents* are from the reissue
of 1649, in which they replace the title-
page and dedication of 1646.

Hypocrisie Unmasked

B Y

A true Relation of the Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the *Massachusetts* against SAMUEL GORTON (and his Accomplices) a notorious disturber of the Peace and quiet of the severall Governments wherein he lived: With the grounds and reasons thereof, examined and allowed by their Generall Court holden at *Boston* in *New-England* in November last, 1646.

Together with a particular Answer to the manifold slanders, and abominable falsehoods which are contained in a Book written by the said GORTON, and entituled, *Simplicitie defence against Seven-beaded Policy, &c.*

DISCOVERING.

To the view of all whose eyes are open, his manifold Blasphemies; As also the dangerous agreement which he and his Accomplices made with ambitious and treacherous *Indians*, who at the same time were deeply engaged in a desperate Conspiracy to cut off all the rest of the *English* in the other Plantations.

VWhereunto is added a briefe Narration (occasioned by certain aspersions) of the true grounds or cause of the first Planting of *New-England*; the President of their Churches in the way and Worship of God; their Communion with the *Reformed Churches*; and their practise towards those that dissent from them in matters of Religion and Church-Government.

By *Edm. Winslow.*

Psal. 120. 3. What shall be given unto thee, or what shall be done unto thee thou false tongue?

Verf. 4. Sharpe arrows of the Mighty, with coales of Juniper.

Published by Authority.

London, Printed by Rich. Cotes for John Bellamy at the three Golden Lions in Cornhill, neare the Royall Exchange, 1646.

THE
Danger of Tolerating
LEVELLERS
In a Civill State :

OR,

An Historicall Narration of the dangerous pernicious practices and opinions, where-with *SAMUEL GORTON* and his Levelling Accomplices so much disturbed and molested the severall Plantations in *NEW-ENGLAND*;

(Parallel to the positions and proceedings of the present Levellers in *OLD-ENGLAND*.)

Wherein their severall Errors dangerous and very destructive to the peace both of Church and State, their cariage and reviling language against Magistracy and all Civill power, and their blasphemous speeches against the holy things of God:

TOGETHER,

With the Course that was there taken for suppressing them, are fully set forth;

With a Satisfactory Answer to their Complaints made to the *PARLIAMENT*:

By *Edw. Winslow* of *Plymouth* in *New-England*.

London, Printed by *Rich. Cotes* for *John Eellamy* at the three Golden Lions in *Corn-hill*, neare the *Royall Exchange*, 1649.



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
ROBERT

Earl of *Warwick*, Governour in Chiefe,
and Lord High Admirall of all those Islands and
other Plantations of the *English* in AMERICA;
Together with the rest of those truly Honorable
Members of both Houses of Parliament joyned in
Commiffion with him for ordering the
affaires of the said *Plantations*.

Right Honourable,



*Ere not your Wisdome and experience in the
great and weighty affaires of State so well
known, and were yee not so much accustomed
to the unjust complaints of clamorous persons,
I might be discouraged to appeare in the righ-
teous cause of the United Colonies of New-*

*England, and more especially in the behalf of the Governour
and Company of the Massachusets, to render a reason of
their just and righteous proceedings against Samuel Gorton
and his Companions, who however (where they are unknown)
they goe here under the garbe of a peaceable people; yet if your
Honours, and the rest of the Honourable Committee shall be
pleased (when more weighty employments shall give way) to pe-
ruse our just defence against his clamorous complaints, and
scandalous Treatise, called, Simplicities defence against*

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

Seven-headed Policy, &c. *I make no question but yee will receive full satisfaction in what we have done, and be ready to justifie our proceedings against them as godly, and righteous.*

The reason wherefore I am forced to appeare in Print before I give a particular answer to your Honours, and the rest of the Honourable Committee, is, because I find a more grosse deformatory aspersiō cast upon the Countrey to the publick view of our Nation: which as it is deare in our eyes (witnesse our frequent publick solemn dayes of prayer to the Throne of grace for it, together with our private supplications, which the Searcher of the heart best knows, sympathizing with it in every condition, to the losse of Ships, Goods, &c. to the great weakening of our estates) so wee desire to remove whatsoever may sadden the thoughts of our Nation against us; especially your Honours, and all that are godly in Christ Jesus.

What greater wrong can bee done a poore persecuted people that went into the wildernesse to avoid the tyrannicall Government of the late Hierarchy, and to enjoy the Liberties Christ Jesus hath left unto his Churches (which these blasphemous Adversaries of ours, so much sleight and cast off) then to be accounted persecutors of Christ in his Saints, yea, to go thither to that end, to become outrageously cruell, barbarously inhumane, uniting together to suck the blood of our Country-men, &c. And yet Right Honorable, it will and doth appear in the following Treatise, that Samuel Gorton was prosecuted against, First, at Plymouth as a grosse disturber of the Civill peace and quiet of that Government, in an open factious and seditious manner. Secondly, hee was no lesse troublesome, but much more at Roade Island, having gotten a strong party to adhere unto him, affronting that Government (as Plymouth) in their publique administration of Justice so foully and grossely, as mine eares never heard the like of any; to which Relation in the following Discourse I
referre

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

referre your Honours, being compiled as briefly as may bee. Gorton being there whipt in his person, and thence banished with some of his principall adherents, they went next to Providence, where Mr. Williams, and some others have built a small Towne. This people receiving them with all humanity in a cold season, when the former places could no longer beare his insolencies; hee soone undermined their Government, gained a strong party amongst them to his owne, to the great distraction of Mr. Williams, and the better party there, contending against their Laws, and the execution of Justice, to the effusion of blood, which made Mr. Williams and the rest sadly complaine to the Government of the Massachusets, and divers of them take the protection of that Government, to defend their persons and estates. But when they saw Mr. Williams resolve rather to lose the benefit of his labours, then to live with such ill-affected people, and the neighbour Governments become affected with Gortons mis-rule there also, hee (and his Companions in evill) began then to thinke of buying a place of a great aspiring Sachim, or Indian Prince, to the wrong of the proper Owners, (two inferiour Sachims) who also, as well as divers English of Providence, submitted their persons and lands to the Government of the Massachusets, and desired their protection not onely against the oppressing tyranny of Myantonomo the foresaid Great Sachim, but against Gorton and his Companions, who intruded into their proper right, by unwarrantable meanes, &c. Now the Government of the Massachusets having used all due meanes and none prevailing, but their gentleness answered with the greatest contempt that might bee: At the next Meeting of the Commissioners for the United Colonies they complained of Gorton and his irregular Companions, which the said Commissioners tooke into serious consideration, and the more because

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

of Gortons, &c. extraordinary familiarity with Myantonimo, and the rest of the Nanohigganfet Sachims, who were knowne to bee in a deepe Conspiracy against all the English in the Land at the same time. And therefore by a solemne Act gave liberty to the Government of the Massachusetts to call them to account, and proceed with them so farre as might stand with righteousnesse and justice, which they accordingly did.

Now these Right Honourable, &c. are the true causes of all the Censures and punishments that befell Gorton in the Countrey; onely needlessly in his and their contemptuous answers to the modest and well-ordered Writings of the said Government of the Massachusetts, they belched forth such horrid blasphemies, not onely against them in particular, and Civill Government in the generall, but against the received Christian Religion of all the Reformed Churches in Europe, as well as our selves; Insomuch as many tender Consciences, both Ministers and others, thought the Government did not well in giving him such liberty, whereby hee may and doth (as is reported) poyson other persons and places with his corrupt opinions, to the great dishonour of God, and ruine of the soules of his followers, who reject the meanes of grace God hath sanctified to strengthen and build up his people in faith and holinesse.

But that I may not bee tedious, I shall presume to preferre these following requests to your Honours and the rest of the honoured Committee this Renowned Parliament hath betruusted with the affaires of the Forraigne Plantations of our Nation: The first is to strengthen the Censure of the Massachusetts by your favourable approbation, so farre as it shall appeare to bee just and righteous; and then shall the Countrey bee the more preserved from their feares of the Gortonians desperate close with so dangerous enemies as their
malig-

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

malignant neighbours the Nanohigganfets; which I perswade my selfe, if your leifures will suffer you to read the following Discourse, you will easily condescend unto; there being nothing (I thanke God in it) affirmed by mee, but as it is affirmed hereunto I may safely depose. A second thing is, that yee will never suffer Samuel Gorton this pestilent disturber of our Societies, any more to goe to New-England to disquiet the peace thereof. My third request is, that yee will be pleased to suffer New-Plymouth, to enjoy their former liberty in the line of their Government, which includeth their very seat, even Shawamet it selfe, where Gorton and his Company dwelt. My fourth request is, to take into your serious consideration, how destructive it will prove to the well-being of our Plantations and proceedings there, (who by Gods blessing are growing up into a Nation) here to answer to the complaints of such malignant spirits as shall there bee censured by Authority, It being three thousand miles distant, so far as will undoe any to come for Justice, utterly disabling them to prove the equity of their cause, unlesse their estate bee very great. My fifth and last request is, that your Honours, and the rest of the Honoured Committee will be pleased to patronize the weake labours of your humble servant, in the just defence hee hath made for New-England, and the severall Governments of it (especially the Massachusets) against the grosse calumnies of the fore-mentioned scandalous Treatise published by the said Gorton: And herein yee shall not onely oblige our Plantations of New-England to continue their daily request to the God of all mercies for a blessing upon this Renowned Parliament, and your Honours, and the rest of this Honoured Committee in especiall, but to engage with, and for them and you, against all opposers of the State, to the last drop of blood in our veines; yea, hereby shall you sweeten the tedious travels, great charges and labours of me their unworthy Agent, who doe
and

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

and shall daily pray to God to recompense your vast hazzards, expenses, studies, and cares, (to advance the Weale Publike of this distressed Kingdome, and the severall limbs thereof) with all the blessings of Heaven and earth to you and yours to succeeding Generations.

Yours Honours humble devoted servant,

EDVV. WINSLOVV.



The Contents.



He Magistrates proceedings at Boston in New-England, against Samuel Gorton and his Accomplices p. 1.

The first Letter of Samuel Gorton and his Accomplices to the Magistrates of Boston in New-England p. 9.

The second Letter of Samuel Gorton and his Accomplises to the Magistrates of Boston in New-England p. 28.

Certain observations collected out of both their Letters, containing their reproachfull Speeches of the government and Magistrates of the Massachusetts p. 38.

Their reviling language against Magistracy it self, and all Civill power. p. 43.

Their blasphemous speeches against the holy things of God. p. 47.

The sum of the presentment of Samuel Gorton, at Portsmouth in Roade Island, by the grand Jury. p. 54.

Mr. Roger Williams his Letter unto Mr. Winthrop concerning Samuel Gorton. p. 55.

A Letter from the Inhabitants of Providence against Gorton and his Accomplises. p. 56.

The true Cause of Gortons sufferings in New-England. p. 66.

The Contents.

<i>The ground of a War like to ensue.</i>	p.71.
<i>Gortons abuse of Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Ward answered.</i>	p.76.
<i>A false Gloss of State service discovered.</i>	p.80.
<i>Gorton Preached against Magistracie, and yet accepts it in his own person.</i>	p.83.
<i>The ground or Cause of our first planting in New-England.</i>	p.88.
<i>The Church at Leyden, and the Churches in New-England, hold Communion with the Reformed Churches.</i>	p.93.
<i>New-Englands practice toward them that differ from them in Religion.</i>	p.100.



A
TRUE RELATION
OF THE

Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the *Massachusetts* in *New-England*, against *Samuel Gorton* and his Accomplices; with the grounds and reasons thereof, examined and allowed by their Generall Court holden at *Boston* in *November*, 1646.



SAMUEL GORTON lived sometime at *Plymouth*, where his behaviour was so turbulent and offensive both to the Magistrates and others, as they were necessitated to drive him out of their Jurisdiction. From thence hee went to *Roade-Island*, where hee began to raise sedition, and to make a party against the Authority there; for which hee was apprehended and whipped, and so sent away. From thence (with some others whom hee had gathered to his part) hee removed to *Providence*, where Mr. *Roger Williams* then lived. Hee (with some others) opposed his sitting down there as an Inhabitant, onely in regard of his present distresse, they gave way for his abode for a time. But being once housed, hee soon drew so great a party to him, as it was beyond the power of Mr. *Williams* and his party to drive them out, or to rule them there; so as both parties came armed into the field each against other, and had fought it out, had not Mr. *Williams* used meanes for pacification.

B

Hereupon

2 *The Magifirates proceedings at Bofton in New-England,*

Hereupon many of the chiefe of *Providence* fent meffengers with a Letter to the Governour and Councell of the *Maffachufets*, defiring aide againft *Gorton* and his company; but they were answered, that not being within our Jurifdiction nor confederation we had no ground to interpoſe in their quarrells. Soone after ſome of thoſe men tendred themſelves and their lands to come under our Government, and were received.

There live neere to *Providence* two ſmall Indian *Sachims* called *Pumham* and *Socononoco*, who though they are as free as the great *Sachim* of the *Nanohigganſet*: Yet *Myantonimo* the then *Sachim* of of *Nanohigganſet* (being a very proud and ſterne man) kept them in great awe. This poore *Sachim Pumham* had a large parcell of land neer *Providence*, very convenient for plantation, which *Gorton* and his company (being now about 13, or 14.) taking notice of, and fearing they ſhould not be able to keep their power long where they were, dealt with *Myantonimo* for this parcell of land, promiſing him a good parcell of *Wampam* for it. And becauſe they knew that *Pumham* was the true owner of it, they dealt with him alſo; but he refuſing to ſell it (for hee dwelt upon it, or very neare to it) they cauſed *Myantonimo* to ſend for him, and having drawn a Writing purporting the ſale thereof for a certaine conſideration to bee given to both of them, *Myantonimo* ſigned it, and hee for feare of *Myantonimo* ſet his mark to it alſo, not knowing what it was. But when *Gorton* tendred him the conſideration for it, hee utterly refuſed it, it being the Indians manner not to account any thing fold, till the party have received the thing it is fold for.

But upon this colourable title *Gorton* and his company enter upon the land, and build ſome houſes, and withall much wrong the Indians with their cattle, and having *Myantonimo* their friend, behave themſelves very inſolently toward the poor Indians, who (having no friends or meanes to relieve themſelves) came and tendred themſelves and their lands to the government of the *Maffachufets*, who (by order of the Court) gave notice thereof to *Myantonimo*, and appointed him to come or ſend to the next Court at *Bofton*, to ſhew his title or intereſt (if hee had any) to the ſaid *Pumham* and *Socononoco* or their lands. At the time appointed hee came, and pretended that they were his vaffalls, but it appeared clearly both by a writing from Mr. *Williams*, and the teſtimony of ſome other Engliſh in thoſe parts, and of divers other Indians no way related to them,

them, that they were free *Sachims*; so as *Myantonimo* having nothing to reply, the Court received the two Indian *Sachims* with their subjects and lands under the government and protection of the *Massachusetts*; and upon that writ to our neighbours of *Providence*, intimating the same to them, and advising *Gorton* and his company, that if they had any just title to the lands they possessed, they should come, or send some for them to shew the same to the Court, and offered them safe conduct. This letter from the Court they tooke in great disdain, and returned scornfull and menacing answers by word of mouth, and a good time after they wrote a letter to the Court full of reproach and blasphemies, not onely against the Magistrates, but against the Churches and Ordinances, as by the Copy thereof hereafter following will appeare. Notwithstanding these provocations and daily wrongs offered to those few English their neighbours (who had formerly submitted themselves to our Government) wee sate still neare halfe a yeare, and before we attempted any thing against them, wee advised with the Commissioners of the united Colonies, who (upon testimony of their insolent and injurious courses, and perusal of the letter they sent to us) left them to us to proceed according to Justice. Whereupon the Court sent againe to them by two of their members, who carryed letters (to require and perswade them to come and give satisfaction,) and a safe Conduct withall; but they entertained those Messengers as they had done the former, threatening to whip one, whom they tooke along with them; and sent us word, that if wee had any thing to say to them, wee should come to them, and wee should have justice there, and that if wee came with force, they would meet us half the way. Our messengers returning with these scornfull answers, the Court resolved to send some force to fetch them in; and in the mean time there came a second letter from them; (the Copy whereof is hereafter also set downe) but before wee sent forth our souldiers, wee wrote to them to this effect: *Viz.* That although the injuries and provocations wee had indured from them were very grievous, yet that our Justice and moderation might appeare to all men, wee had condescended so farre to their owne proposition, as wee would send some Commissioners to them, to heare their answers and allegations, and if thereupon they would give us such satisfaction as should bee just, wee would leave them in peace; if otherwise, wee would right our selves by force of Armes: And signified withall,

4 *The Magistrates proceedings at Boston in New-England,*

that wee would send a sufficient guard with our Commissioners; for seeing they would not trust themselves with us upon our safe conduct, wee had no reason to trust any of ours with them upon their bare curtesie. Accordingly about a week after wee sent three Commissioners, and 40 Musqueteers with them, with instructions, first to speak and treat with them, and to require satisfaction according to Justice, and if it were denyed, then to take them by force, and bring them prisoners to *Boston*; and to take withall so much of their substance as should satisfy our charges. By the way as they went they met with another letter from them, letting them know, that they feared them not, but were prepared for them: And accordingly they had fortified themselves in one house (some 12 of them) and had lined the walls with earth (Musket prooffe) and had made Flanckers, and provided victualls, &c. to indure a siege. So that when our Commissioners came to the place, they would admit no parly. But after a while, by the mediation of some of their neighbours, they were content to parley, and offered to referre the cause to Arbitrators, so as some of them might bee of *Providence*, or of *Rhode Island*. Our Commissioners were content to send to us to know our minds about it, and in the meane time sate still. Such of the Court as could meet, returned answer that their Proposition was neither seasonable nor reasonable, nor could it bee safe or honourable for us to accept thereof: 1 Because they would never offer nor hearken to any termes of agreement before our souldiers had them in their power. 2 Because the ground of their Proposition was false, for wee were not parties (as they pretended) but equall Judges between the *Indians* and others who were complainants, and themselves, (and yet in a case of warre, parties may bee Judges.) 3 They were no State, or Body politique, but a few fugitives living without Law or Government, and so not honourable for us to joyne with them in such a way of reference. 4 The parties whom they would referre it unto, were such as had been rejected by us, and all the Governments in the Country, and so not likely to bee equall to us, nor able to judge of the cause: and their blasphemous and reproachfull writings, &c. were not matters fit to bee composed by Arbitrement, (being deeply criminall) but either to bee purged away by repentance and publique satisfaction, or else by publique punishment. For these and other reasons, the Commissioners were required to proceed according to their Instructions.

ctions. And thereupon they intrenched themselves about the house, and in few dayes forced them to yeeld, and so brought them to *Boston*, where they were kept in prison till the Court sate, and had their dyet from the Cookes (as good meat and drinke as the Towne afforded.) The next Lords day they refused to goe to the Church assembly, except they might have liberty to speake there, as occasion should be. They were answered by some of the Magistrates that it appertained to the Elders to order the affairs of the Church, but they might presuppose they should not bee denyed such liberty, speaking words of truth and sobernesse. So in the afternoon they came, and were placed in a convenient seate before the Elders. Mr. *Cotton* the Teacher taught then (in his ordinary course) out of *Acts* 19. of *Demetrius* speech for *Diana* her silver shrine. After Sermon *Gorton* desired leave to speake, which being granted, hee tooke occasion from the Sermon to speake to this effect, That in the Church now there was nothing but Christ, so that all our Ordinances, Ministers, and Sacraments, &c. were but mens inventions, for shew and pomp, and no other then those silver shrines of *Diana*. He said also, that if Christ lives eternally, then he died eternally, and other speeches of like kinde. And indeed it appeareth both by his speeches and letters, that it was his opinion, that Christ was incarnate in *Adam*, and was that image of God, wherein *Adam* was created; and that the chiefe worke and merit lay in his *Inanition*, when he became such a thing, so meane, &c. and that his being borne after of the Virgin *Mary*, and suffering, &c. was but a manifestation of his suffering, &c. in *Adam*. Another of them said that the Sabbath was Christ, and so was borne of the Virgin *Mary*. They called Magistracy among Christians an Idol; yet they did acknowledge a Magistracy in the world to bee subjected to as an Ordinance of God, but onely as naturall; as the father over his wife and children, and an hereditary Prince over his subjects.

Their first appearance before the Court was upon the Lecture day at *Boston*, before a very great Assembly, where first the Governour declared the cause and manner of all the proceedings against them, and their Letters were openly read, and they had liberty to object, and answers were given, as followeth:

First, to their plea, That they were not within our Jurisdiction; it was answered: 1 If they were not within ours, yet they were within the Jurisdiction of one of our confederates, who had refer-

red them to us. 2 If they were within no Jurisdiction, then was there none to complaine to for redresse of our injuries in way of ordinary Justice, and then we had no way of relief but by force of Armes.

Secondly, to their plea *Of persecution for their Conscience, &c.* It was answered, that wee did not meddle with them for their opinions, otherwise then they had given us occasion, by their owne Letters and free speeches amongst us, for wee wrote to them about civill Controversies onely, and gave them no occasion to vent their blasphemies and revilings against the Ordinances of Religion set up with us.

Thirdly, for their title to the *Indians* lands: wee had divers times desired them to make it appeare; but they alwayes refused, even to our Commissioners, whom (according to their owne motion) wee sent last to them: and since they were in prison, wee offered them to send for any witnesses they would name to us for that end, but this also they refused. So that our title (by the *Indians* surrender) appeareth good, and having regained possession, we need not question them any further about that.

Their Letters being read and their Subscriptions acknowledged, they were demanded severally if they would maintaine those things which were contained therein. Their answer was, that they would, in that sense they wrote them, and so were returned to prison. The next day they were brought before the Court severally to be examined upon particulars, (many of the Elders being desired to be present) because they had said they could give a good interpretation of every part of their Letters. But the interpretation they gave being contrary to the words, they were demanded if they would then retract those words, so plainly different from their pretended meanings. But this they refused to doe, saying, that then they should deny the Truth; for instance in one or two. Their Letters were directed, one of them, *To their Neighbours of the Massachusetts*: and the other, *To the great honoured Idoll Generall of the Massachusetts*, and by a messenger of their owne delivered to our Governour, and many passages in both Letters particularly applyed to our Courts, our Magistrates, our Elders, &c. and yet upon their examinations about their meanings in their reproachfull passages, they answered that they meant them, of the corrupt estate of man-
kinde

kinde in generall, and not of us. So, whereas in their Letter they charged it upon us, as an error that we teach, *That Christ dyed Actually onely*, when he suffered under *Pontius Pilate*; and before, onely in *Types*, &c. upon their examination they said, that their meaning was, that his death was actuall to the faith of the Fathers under the Law, (which is in effect the same which we hold:) Yet they would not retract their words they had written. The Elders conferred many houres with them before the Court, and by occasion thereof they discovered divers blasphemous opinions, which they maintained, we will instance one which was mentioned before, delivered by *Gorton*, viz. that the Image of God wherein *Adam* was created, was Christ; and *Adams* loosing that Image was the death of Christ, and the restoring of that Image in the Regeneration, was the resurrection of Christ: and so the death of him that was borne of the Virgin *Mary* was but a manifestation of the former. Master *William Tompson* one of the Elders had spent some time with them before in the prison about the opinions which they held forth, and they had professed their agreement with him (for substance) in every point, so as he came to the Court with a purpose to speak in their behalf, but when he heard themselves discover thus upon their publique examinations, he shewed how he had beene deluded by them. For they excell the *Jesuites* in the art of equivocation, and regard not how false they speake, to all other mens apprehensions, so they keepe to the rules of their owne secret intentions. Being asked why they spake against the Ordinances of the Ministry, Sacraments, &c. seeing the Scripture allows them? They answered that they were ordained onely for the time of Nonage, but after the Revelation was written, they were to cease, because we finde no mention of them in that booke.

They were unlearned men, the ablest of them could not write true english, no not in common words, yet they would take upon them to interpret the most difficult places of Scripture, and wrest them any way to serve their owne turne. As for instance, Mr. *Cotton* pressing *Gorton* with that in *Act. 10*. Who can forbid water, why these should not be baptized, &c. He interpreted thus, who can deny but these have beene baptized, seeing they have received the Holy Ghost, &c. so he allowed them to have beene baptized. This shift he was put to, that he might maintaine his opinion, viz: that such as have beene baptized with the Holy Ghost, need not the baptisme of

of water. Divers dayes were spent both by the Court and the Elders in labouring to bring them to repentance, but all in vaine. They continued obstinate. Whereupon they agreed to sentence them, but first they brought them in publique before a great Assembly, and there (out of their Letters and Speeches) they laid upon them this charge, *viz.* they were found to be blasphemous enemies of the true Religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of all his holy Ordinances, and likewise of all Civill Government among his people, and particularly within this jurisdiction. Then they were demanded, if they did acknowledge this charge to be just, and would submit to it, or what exception they had against it? They answered, they did not acknowledge it to be just, but they fell into some cavilling speeches, so they were returned unto prison againe. Being in prison they behaved themselves insolently towards their keeper, and spake evill of the Magistrates, so as the keeper was forced to threaten them with Irons, to keepe them quiet.

After all meanes used to reclaime them, and not prevailing, they were brought before the Court to receive their sentence, which was this. *Gorton* and six more of them, were to be sent to severall townes, there to bee kept to worke for their livings, and to weare an Iron chaine upon one leg, and not to depart the limits of the Towne, nor by word or writing to maintaine any of their blasphemous or wicked errours upon paine of death, except in conference with any of the Elders, or any other allowed by some Magistrate to conferre with them; and this to continue during the pleasure of the Court. Three of the Company (because they had not their hands to the Letters) were set at libertie, two of them upon a small ranfome as prisoners taken in warre, and the other, freely, for that he was amongst them in his Masters house, where they were taken; a fourth being found to be a plaine ignorant young man was discharged also, onely enjoyned to abide a time in one of our Townes, but hee went away and returned no more, contrary to his promise. There were two other who were brought in after; (but not by force) the one of them disclaiming to have any hand in the Letters, was discharged presently; the other was kept a while in prison, and after upon his submission &c. was released.

Gorton and the other six remained in the severall Townes all that Winter; and then in regard of their wives and children (who were like to be much distressed by their husbands absence) they were set at liberty,

liberty, and baniſhed upon paine of death if they were found in any part of our jurifdiction.

After the Court had paſſed ſentence upon them for their confinement, we ſent to fetch ſo many of their Cattle, as might defray the charges they had put us to, which amounted to about one hundred and ſixty pounds, but the Cattle came not to ſo much, for we left every of them a part for the ſupport of their families, and ſome of them had no Cattle at all.

The Letters follow,

Moſhawſet Novemb: 20. 1642.

To our Neighbours of the Maſſachuſets.

WHereas we lately received an irregular note, profeſſing its forme from the Maſſachuſets, with four mens names ſubſcribed thereunto, as principall authors of it, of the chiefe amongſt you; We could not eaſily give credit to the truth thereof, not onely becauſe the conveyers of it unto us, are knowne to be men, whoſe conſtant and profeſſed acts are worſe, then the counterfeiting of mens hands; but alſo, becauſe we thought that men of your parts and profeſſion, would never have proſtrated their wiſdome to ſuch an act. But conſidering that cauſleſſe enmity you have againſt us; the prooſe whereof, every occaſion brings forth; Wee cannot but conclude, that no act ſo ill which that ancient mother will not bring forth her ſeed unto. For wee know very well, that it is the name of Chriſt called upon us, which you ſtrive againſt; Thence it iſt that you ſtand on tip-toe, to ſtretch yourſelves beyond your bounds; to ſeeke occaſion againſt us; (So) as you might hide your ſinne with *Adam*, bearing the world in hand; it is not your deſire to contend with us; But ſome civill breach in our courſes, which you onely ſeeke to redreſſe. Whereas neither you, nor any (in way of truth) can finde wherewith, to bring us under the Censure of a diſorderly courſe of walking amongſt men: And as for the way of that ancient ſpirit of accuſation of the brethren, we weigh it not, knowing him to be a lyer, (or in the abſtract, a lye) from the beginning, yea and the father of it alſo; which thing you cannot know, though it were told unto you.

Whereas you ſay, *Robert Cole*, *William Arnauld* with others, have put themſelves under the Government and protection of your Jurifdiction

rifdiction, which is the occasion you have now got to contend; we wish your words were verified, that they were not elsewhere to be found, being nothing but the shame of Religion, Disquiet, and Disturbance of the place where they are. For, we know neither the one nor the other, with all their associates and Confederates, have power to enlarge the bounds, by Kinge *Charles* limited unto you.

Behold therefore in this your act, a Map of your Spirituall estate, (to use your owne phraze) for we know that the Spirituality of your Churches, is the Civility of your Commonweale, and the Civility of your Comonwealth, is the spirituality of your Churches, the wisdom of man, being the whole accomplishment of them both; of which Tree, you delight dayly to eate (finding it faire and beautifull) to gaine Conformity with your maker. In these your Diffembling subjects; grossly profane amongst us, but full of the spirit of your purity, when they are with you, you may remember the brand your selves have set upon some of them, the Cause wherof was never yet removed, though it abide not upon their backe; Nor yet the Cause of your Commitment of them unto *Sathan* according unto your Law, for if that were removed, you should doe them wrong, in not resumng your vomit into its former Concoction againe; Nor are we ignorant of those disgracefull tearmes they use, and give out against you, behind your backs, their submission therefore can bee to no other end, but to satisfie their owne lusts, not onely conceived, but in violent motion, against their Neighbours, who never offered the least wrong unto them, only the proposition of Amity, is object sufficient, for these mens enmitie.

Even so the passions of sin, which are by the Law, having force in your Members; you going about with great labour and industry to satisfie them by your submission unto the word of God, in your Fasting, and feasting, in Contributing, and treasuring, in retirednesse for Study, and bowing of the backes of the poore, going forth in labour to maintaine it, and in the spirit of that hireling, raising up, your whole structure and edifice, in all which you bring forth nothing but fruit unto death, some labouring for a price to give for the keeping of their soules, in peace and safe estate and Condition, and some to have their bodies furnished with riches, honour and ease, and further then the Lord Jesus agrees with these, you mind him not, nay you renounce and reject him, and with
these

these (according to your Acceptation and practice) he holds no Correspondency at all, being the Consultation and operation of that his onely adverstarie, man being that which you depend upon, and not the Lord, Crying out in way of Elevation, and applauding his ministers, when in the meane time, you know not what, nor who they are, professing them under a mediate Call of Christ, though formerly, they have beene Called immediately by him, hereby showing your selves to be those, that destroy the Sacred ordinance of God: For if you make Christ to be that to day, in stating his ministers; which he was not yesterday, and that in the tyme of the Gospell also, (to speake according to your Law) to be found in them both, you therin affirm, that he hath beene that to his ministers, which now he is not, and to make the Son of God to have beene that which now he is not, is to make a Nullitie of him, not to be at all, for he is the Lord that changeth not, no not a shadow thereof is found in him, so that you plainly Crucifie unto your selves, the Lord of glory, and put him to an open shame; So that as you know not, how Christ, conversing with his father in heaven, is found on the earth, amongst the true worshippers, no more do you know, how in his conversing with *Nicodemus* on the earth, he concludes himselfe to be in heaven, with his father. On this foundation hangeth the whole building of your Doctrine, concerning the sufferings of Christ, you Annihilate the Crofs, then the which, the Saints have no other Consolation: and prepare no better a place then Purgatory, for the honourable fathers of our Lord: For you conclude, that Christ dyed in the Decree, and purpose God, in the time of the Law, but actually onely when he hanged on the Crosse in the dayes of *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*, that hee was crucified in the types and shadowes of the law, but in the truth, and substance, when hee appeared borne of the Virgin *Mary*: So must you also conclude that the fathers under the law, were only saved, in purpose and Decree, in Type and shadow, but actually and substantially onely at the Comming of Christ in the flesh: therefore deale plainly with those that depend upon you for instruction (as your Ancestours in the papacie have don) and proclaime a place of purgatorie, provided for them in the meane, without which, your Doctrine hath no foundation. For if you raise up a shadow, without a substance, and the substance of him that dwelleth in light, without a shadow, you play the part of Wisards, or

[Errata: read *Massachusetts* instead of *Boston* in the head lines to page 37.]

[Errata, l. 27 read purpose of God.]

Necromancers, not the part of true Naturalists, in the things of the Kingdome of god.

So that as farre as these men are from beinge honourable and loyall subjects, so farre are you from being voluntaries in the Day of Gods power, and from yeelding subjection unto the Beauties of holiness. Such also is your professed Rule, and Government, in the things that concern the Kingdom of our God, they are infinitely beyond, and out of the Reach of that Spirit which is gone out amongst you, the Capacity whereof can no wayes comprehend, the breadth of the land of *Emanuel*, norentreth it within the Vale, Therefore it cannot know those Cherubims of glory, neither can it heare the voice of that lively Oracle, speaking onely from off the covering Mercy-seate, and not elsewhere to be heard; We speake not but what wee know, these things are out of its Jurisdiction; Therefore dumb in telling Justice, nor speakes it any of that Righteousnesse and glory, comprysed in another circuit, then ever you were yet made Lords of: Long therefore may you boast, of your Jurisdiction before ever you attaine unto a *Jurisprudencia*, in these things.

In that you tell us wee offer you wrong, by a pretended purchase: you are as much mistaken in the purchase, as in the wrong, For it is right that we are about to do, neither is our purchase a pretence, but precedentially, not onely in this Civill respect, but may also admonish all men, to take heed, how they depend upon false and self-seeking interpreters, when both themselves, and they that have the vision, are ignorant of the Contract, and Covenant of God. Thence it is, that you teach, that the spouse of Christ, upon Contract with her Lord, may conceive the seed of immortalitie, and bring forth fruit unto God, when as yet the day of marriage, that great Feastivitie, and solemnization, of the Consolations of God, is not yet comne, witnesse your prorogation thereof, if not to the Descension of Christ from heaven unto the earth, to Raigne certaine years, yet to the Calling of the Jewes, whom yee your selves are, according to the flesh, and to the destruction of that Man of sinne whom yee so stoutly maintain, What is this, but to proclaime unto all the world, that Audacious spirit of whoredoms, professing Conception and bringing forth before the Nuptiall day?

In that you conclude your Clyents Right to arise out of foure years possession, wee have no such order, if you meane the Right
of

of Conquest, (onely held in that tenure) the true owners were never yet subdued, for that is the right they expect to enjoy by you, for some of them committed part of their supposed right unto us, professing it was, that they might have help, to enjoy the rest; But when they saw, wee would not be Abettors unto them without, much lesse contrary unto Covenant, then they flye unto you for help, Their possession, beeing a meere intrusion, as all the Natives know and ever exclaymed against them for the same, And so may our Countrymen also, whose eyes are not dazzled with envie, and eares open to Lyes, as we know yours are, else you had heard both sydes speake, before you had Judged.

But wee profess right held, according to no such interest, but upon the ground of Covenant onely, knowne in its nature; In the parties 'twixt whom it is plight, In the possessor, and the possessed, with the nature of all fruit arising from their accord and concurrence, together with their Distinct, Harmonicall, Reciprocall, and Joint properties, and operations of them both: Such is the tenure wee hold, and maintain, before men and Angels, and oppose it against man and Divell, Not in taking up unto our selves, certaine offices and officers which wee can teach children to bee, and to perform, and from thence presently to conclude, the possession of the Kingdome, Crying out our peace offerings are upon us, this Day we have payd our vows. But when that Dark cloud descended upon the Tabernacle, becomes the light, and glory of all Israell (there being nothing acknowledged amongst them, but what ariseth out thence) then, and then only, are the orders, as also the men of Israell, derived from the true fountaine, which no tongue can confesse, but it is salvation, and then, not else, is the heritage of our Lord in possession, yea, even the waylesse wilderneck knowes, how to afford them an habitation, which had its being before the hills and mountaines were borne: which men begin to flye unto for refuge, to hide them from the presence of the Lamb: this is a possession, which no man can intrude himselfe into: it is onely Covenanted with him, thorow an inlightned eye, and boarded eare, which man performeth not, nor can it be received from him.

For wee know that Cloud of thick darknesse, that hides and covers the whole frame and fabrick of the work of God, to be the clearing and evidencing of every point and particular thereof: yea to us,

it is even that cloud of witness, which testifies unto us, the like workes to appeare, when ever the world hath occasion to make use of us.

Never doth it shine but in the night, never is it dark to Israel but in the day, but in the one, and the other, the only glory and fastie of all the tribes: but how, you know not, nor can you with all your libraries, give the interpretation thereof, but have lost it in the wilderness, and accordingly, have made the whole way, and will of our Lord, the oldnesse of the letter, both to your selves, and to all that have an eare to listen unto you; Thence it is that the day of Lord, is a day of Darknes and Gloomines unto you, but of Joy and gladnes unto us; yea, it lifts up our head onely, and then is our salvation neere; For wee know the worthies of *David* doubled about the bed of *Solomon*, which expell all feare in the night, handling the sword with success, making the adversaries nothing but meat to feede upon, so that the tyme of your feares is the time of our Courage and Conquest, for when you feare error, schisme, Rents and Confusions in Church and state, then do wee know the Messenger of the Covenant, the Lord whom wee seek is speeding his passage into his holy temple: For who (under the terrors of your spirit) may abide his Coming, hee being like a refiners fire, and Fullers sope?

In that you invite us unto your Courts to fetch your equall balanced justice, upon this ground, that you are become one with our adversaries, and that, both in what they have, and what they are, and wee know them to bee such, as profess the day of the Lord an unhallowed thing. Now, if wee have our opponant, to prefer his action against us, and not only so, but to bee our Counsell, our Jurie, and our Judge, for so it must bee, if you bee one with them (as you affirm) wee know before hand, how our Cause will bee ended, and see the scale of your equall Justice turned already, before wee have layd our Cause therein, and cannot but admire, to see you carried so contrarie to your owne received principles: For you know not how to finde Christ as a Ruling and teaching Elder both in one person, therefore he is not Complete amongst you by your owne law, except in severall persons, and you may thank tradition, else you know no more how to finde both a king and a priest in him, and yet in your way of making tender of your Justice unto us you know how to become one with our adversaries (so) as
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if wee deale with them, wee deale with you, and if wee have to doe with you, wee have to doe with them also, yea further, wee know, that the chiefe amongst you, have professed wee are not worthy to live; and that if some of us were amongst you, wee should hardly fee the place of our abode any more; Now that they have brooded upon their law, to take away life, they must much more bring it up, in taking away all means of life, Witnes our prohibition, that no powder should befould unto us for our money, and that in a time when you could not thinke your selves safe, in all your owne, self provision and worldly furniture, except youdisarmed a company of poor Indians, whom *Aaron* your Leviticall Sacrificer hath made Naked, as hee doth all those which triumph in a Calf, though the most costly and beautifull, that the Jewells and eare-rings of Learning, either in Language, or art, can possibly bring forth: your owne amazements upon meer Rumors, may testifie the truth hereof; so then; wee are Judged by your law before our Cause bee hard, or our selves brought forth under the liberties of it, which thing is well pleasing unto us, to have our Condition conformed unto *Moses* the man of God, who was dead in *Pharaohs* account, before he was brought forth, and so it was with Christ our lord, in the dayes of *Herod* also, who is our life (at which you strike) and makes all things, yea, Death it self, lively, and advantagious unto us.

Wee cannot but wonder, that you should read the Scripture, and not finde them fulfilled, in, and amongst your selves, when as they appeare so apparantly, that he that runs may read them: what think you of *Herod*, when the Lord had delivered *Peter* out of prison, and releasd him of those bonds, and brought him from that thralldom, which he had so Cruelly imposed upon him, to gaine the favour of the Jewes, and that by a power supereminent, transcending the bounds of his authoritie, and by a wisdom surpassing the Depth of his Counsell, and policie, to fynd out, together with his souldiers and Champions, he presently goes downe to *Cesarea*, and *Herod* is angry with them of *Tyrus & Sidon*, (*thumomachon*) a heavie Friend, or hath a secret grudge or perturbation of mind, manifested in an outreaching, and circumventing policie, to subdue them unto himself, that he might Rule over them: Finding himself fall short of power and policie, to subject the word of God in the messenger of it, to satisfy his owne lusts, in his lordship over it, he pursues with all egarneffe to make himself a god, by Raiging over the bodies

dies and estates of men; yea, though they be but such, as *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, can afford unto him, to make subjects of, and when they come unto him with one accord to make offer of themselves, in yeelding to his affectionate and politicall project, he sitting upon the Judgment seate, in his Royall apparell, making his oration, of what power he hath to protect them, what wisdom and Counsell, to minister Justice and righteousnes unto them (which office belongs only unto the Lord) the people with a shout crying out, the voice of god and not of man, the truth and substance of which Cry is, this is the ordinance of god and not of man, immediately the angel of the Lord smites him, and hee that ever acknowledged himself, to bee a worme, and no man upon the earth, Consumes and eates up all his pomp and glory, even as those, whom you account the Shame and Contempt of the people, shall (thorow that angell of the Covenant) waste and bring to nought all those Rhetoricall, (though earthly) Orations that are made amongst you, by your so Learned, studious, and experienced Clarkes: take for illustration of your estate as above, the speech of your alderman *Oliver*, in case of committing *Francis Hutchinson* to prison; one of your Church-members wondering that brother *Winthrop* would do it before the Church had dealt with him, Brother, saith hee, why; hee is thy god man.

Lend your eye yet farther, to parallell your practise personated in *Pylate* and the people, when *Pylate* offereth *Jesus* unto the people to be judged, they profess, they have such a law, as puts no man to Death: they are all for mercy and forgiveness, when they are out of the Judgment hall, but let *Pylate* enter in thither; and then, nothing but Crucifie him, Crucifie him; be their accusations, and witneses, never so false: even so, in your dealings with men, in way of your Jewish brotherhood, your law is all for mercie, to Redresse, reform, and for preservation, both of soule and bodie; Do but enter into the Common hall, and then, as *Pylate* asked (am I a Jew?) so do you, Doe I fit, or speake here, as a brother? I tro not, I am now in a higher sphere, then that (though they be acknowledged coheirs with Christ) can ataine unto, therefore if witness be brought in, and Oath taken, though never so untrue, your consciences are purged by law, and your power must have tribute payd unto it, so far as mens Names, to bee branded with infamie, estates, depriving women and children of things necessarie, and precious lives of men
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can extend themselves, to contribute any thing thereunto; so that the professed mercie, and Clemencie of your law, to exercise censures only for amendment of life, and recoverie, comes unto this issue, as much as in you lies, to send both soule and body downe unto hell for ever without redresse, and all hope of recovery.

But your houre, and the power of Darknesse, is known what it is, either to have mens persons in admiration because of advantage; or else, to seek all occasions against them, to brand them with all manner of reproch, and ignominie, but for the truth, taught daily in the Temple, you know not how to stretch out your hand, or exercise your ministry against it, lest it become leprous, and you take it back again with losse, when it appeares dried and withered.

And wherefore reason yee amongst your selves, saying, wee exercise the power of your ministrations against none but such as are Delinquents, whereby we clear the innocent, and establish peace in all our borders?

Wee demand, what think you of those two witnesses, prophesying in Sackcloth, a thousand two hundredth and threescore Dayes: those two olive trees, and two candlestickes, standing before the God of the earth? are these guiltie and vile persons, out of whose hands (by the power of your ministries) you are delivering and releasing the world? then indeed are your wayes justifiable: But if these bee the Just, Chosen, and peculiar friends of God, yea such, as without which, his truth and Righteousnesse are not justified, his wisdom, and holinesse maintained and upheld in the world, in point of salvation by Christ, then are your wayes wicked, and to bee abhorred; for in your professed Course, you are they, by whom these are slaine, and put to Death, and all your glory is to keepe their Corpes unburied in your streetes, and yet you know not what you are doing, no more then you know what these witnesses are, whom you are altogether ignorant of, for your Libraries never saw them, and you see not but by their eyes, for these are two, and never more, nor yet lesse, yea ever the same, they are olive trees, else no witnesses, and also Candlesticks, else both the former faile, yea, are not at all. Wee must tell you what these are, else wee cannot declare how you kill them, for it is not our intent to open unto you the house of the treasures, the silver and the gold, and the spices, and the precious oymntment, nor the house of our armour, because you take all as

execrable, and put all to a profane use that commeth from us; but these two witnesses are the life and death of our Lord Jesus; or, in the true language of heaven also, the strength and the weaknesse of Christ, for hee was crucified through weaknesse, but hee liveth by the power of God: this is the word of the Lord in *Zerubbabel*, Not by an army, nor by power, and so deprives him of all strength, but by aspirit, that the greatest mountaine, or loftiest hill in the world cannot stand before, but becomes a plaine, which with facility and ease hee passeth upon; thence it is that hee doth not onely lay the top or the head stone of all, but also the lowest in the foundation, and then onely is the voice of shouting heard, Grace, grace in the house for ever; and then doth the day of small things become the day of joy and triumph, yea, of parting the rich spoiles and prey of all the world, for then hee that doth but turn and lift up his eyes he cannot looke besides that great flying book of the Curse that is gone forth over the whole earth.

Without these two witnesses jointly uttering themselves in every particular Scripture undertaken to bee divulged by any, no evidence nor testimony of God is given, or brought in at all, but a meere refuge of lies for the foules of men to betake themselves unto; without these two pipes of the olive trees emptying themselves into the bowle of the candlesticks, no unction nor oyle at all is found in them, and that being wanting, the light of the Sanctuary is gone out; so that the light appearing amongst you is onely the light of *Balaam*, whose eye was open, which you may read either *Shethum* or *Sethum*, for that opening is nothing else but the shutting up of the holy things of God, so that in seeing you see not, but communicate onely in the light of that beast, who puts the witnesses to death, as *Balaam* did in the sight of that dumbe beast of his whose eyes were opened to see the angel before him; so that while you thinke it is our wisdom to stoop unto you for light, wee never come amongst you but see our selves in a regiment of grosse and palpable darknesse, and discern you very plainly, how you scrabble upon the wall to finde the doore of *Lots* house, and cannot. As also how you toil yourselves to climbe up into the sheep-fold, another, yea, so many other wayes, and have no sight nor discerning of us the Door, at all, by the which whosoever entereth, becomes a true feeder of the flock of God; yea, none entereth in thereat, but the true Shepherd himself.

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Most impious it is to put to death two such Noble witneses, that have power to shut heaven that it raine not in the dayes of their prophecying; to turne the waters into bloud, and to smite the earth with all manner of plagues as oft as they wil, whom that spirit that is amongst you kills on this wise, the life or power of the sonne of God, as above, which is infinite, not admitting of circumscription or containment, for the heaven of heavens cannot containe him, yet have you not dared to graspe and inviron that power in the heavens, and therefore have resolved and concluded that hee onely rules upon the earth in these dayes by his Deputies, Lievtenants, and Vicegerents, whereby you limit, and so destroy the holy One of Israel; for give him that in one time, or place, which afterwards, or elsewhere you deny him, and you make a nullity of him unto your selves, and in so doing, you kill that other witnesse, namely, the death or weaknesse of the Lord Jesus: for you must have man to bee honourable, learned, wise, experienced, and of good report, else they may not rule among you; yea and these things are of man, and by man, as appeares, in that they onely officiate so, as man may disannull and take it away againe; witnesse your change of officers, constantly speaking for us herein; thus have you flaine also the death or the weaknesse of Christ, who professeth himselfe to bee a worm and no man, the shame and contempt of the people; and these faithfull and true witneses thus flaine, you must of necessity deny buriall, and keep them both in open view in your streets, or otherwise all your pompe and glory falls to the dust whence it came, and on which it feeds. Nor can you send your presents one to another of your acts of Justice, power to protect, wealth, honour, and friends wherewith you gratifie each other; and where these are thus flaine, and their corps lie in open view, none of the gentiles, peoples, tongues, and kindreds suffering their carkasses to bee put in graves, there is that great City which spiritually is *Sodom* and *Egypt*, where our Lord is crucified; but after three dayes and an half, the spirit of life from God shall enter into them, and they shall stand up upon their feet to the terrour of you all: Nor doe you thinke that wee onely inveigh against the great ones of this world for thus doing, for wee know that the basest peasant hath the same spirit with the greatest Princes of this world, and the greatest of the Princes of this world, hath the very same spirit wherewith the basest peasant hath laid himselfe open in the view of all men: these

wee say, are the two witnessees if you can receive it, and what a dishonour is it to trade so much by meanes of witnessees, and yet not know what a true witnesse is? which if you did, you durst not attempt the things you doe, whereby you cast reproach upon all the world, in that you professe your selves a choice people pickt out of it, and yet goe on, in such practices as you doe, maintaining them as your onely glory. Our Lord gives you in charge not to sweare at all, but it is your dignity to bring men to your seates of Justice with nothing but oathes in their mouthes, why doe you not balance the scriptures in this point? *viz.*

It hath beene said of old, Thou shalt not committ adultery, but I say unto you, hee that looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her in his heart already : so also it hath beene sayd of old, Thou shalt not forswear thy self, but I say unto you, sweare not at all: so that if it be adulterie, to looke to lust, it is also forswearing a mans self, to sweare at all; if the one be adultery, the other is perjury, if one be admitted in some cases, the other also, so that in preaching the toleration, nay the duty of an oath, you preach the toleration, yea the duty of adulterie it self; So that our Lord plainly evinceth unto all mens consciences, not onely the guilt but the folly and madnesse of the oath of man, shewing how farre it is, either from investing into place, or demonstrating Causes, so that hee that concludeth upon honour, and power, received from the oath of man, or upon knowledge and bouldnes, to judge in a cause, from that testimony without the which he could not have it, is as vaine in his thoughts, as if hee should herupon conclude, I have now altered the frame of heaven, which is no lesse stable then the throne of the great God, or demolished the earth, which is as firme as his foot-stoole for ever, or made a fraction in the orders of *Jerusalem*, that choice and peculiar City of the great King, whose institutions no mortall breath can intrench upon, or to professe his authority and skill to be such, whereby he can make a haire of his head blacke or white, cause his age to wax old as doth a garment, or renew it with the Eagle at his pleasure, hereby doth man (in this point of swearing) professe his folly to bee such, that hee is become not onely vaine in his imaginations, but unto that pride and usurpation therein, as to intrude himselfe into the prerogative royall of his Maker.

So that however you boast of the Ordinances of God, yet he tels
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you there is no more then yea, yea, and nay, nay, in them, for what is once nay, is ever nay in the Ordination of Christ, and what is once yea, is ever yea with him, and according to his account however man reckoneth, whose account shall be called over againe, what is once curse, is ever the curse, and what is once the principality and power of Christ, is ever the principality and power of Christ, as that which is once the principality and power of Darkeness, is ever the same, what hands soever it cometh into for manifestation: measure your kingdome whether it bee eternall, and your Jurisdiction whether it bee illimited, for he hath given (him) the heathen for his inheritance, the utmost parts of the earth for his possession, and a kingdome of lesse extent hee professeth not, nor can hee approve or acknowledge any that doe, no more then light can approve of darkness, or the Lord *Jehovah* of the Lord *Baal*.

Bee wise therefore, and bethinke your selves while it is called to day, harden not your hearts, as though you would make your selves *Meriba*, nothing but strife and contention against the Lord, rather kisse the sonne (if it bee possible) lest his wrath bee kindled and you perish from the way for ever, O blessed onely they, that hope in him.

So that hee which professeth on this wise, it is yea, I am a pastor, but it was nay, at such a time I was none, hee renounceth that spirit of the true pastor, yet onely feeder of Israel, professing onely that spirit that pusheth the weake with the horne, and pudleth with his feet the waters where the flocke of God should drinke. Hee with whom it is yea, I am a Ruler, but it was nay when I was none at all, renounceth that spirit of him that rules in righteousness, professing the spirit of him that rules according to the god of this world, that Prince of the power of the Aire, who is now working so effectually in the children of disobedience. So also hee with whom it is yea, I am a Captaine, or chiefe slaughter-man, but it was nay, time was I was none at all, renounceth that victorie and slaughter made by the Captaine and High-priest of our profession, (who as hee is a Lambe slaine from the beginning, his victory and slaughter must bee of the same antiquity,) professing himselfe to bee a chiefe slaughter-man, or superfluous Giant, made in that hoast of the Philistims, standing in readinesse to come out, to desie the hoast of the living God: yea, it is evident, that whatsoever is more then yea, yea, and nay, nay, not settling each upon its Base, whereon it standeth

deth for ever without controule, but can remove, create, or make void offices and officers at their pleasure, is of that evill, or not of Jesus, the salvation of his people, but of *Shedim* that waster and destroyer of mankind for ever: know therefore that it is the oath of God which confirms and makes good his Covenant and promise unto a thousand generations: and it is the oath of man, which is the bond and obligation of that league and agreement made with death and hell for ever; bee yee assured it is not the tabernacle of witnes which you have amongst you, brought in by Jesus into the possession of the Gentiles, but it is *Siccuth* your King, or the tabernacle of *Molock*, the starre of your God *Remphan*, figures which you have made unto your selves, which you have taken up, and are bearing so stoutly upon your shoulders. Now to tell you what an oath according to God is, that the scriptures are delivered upon no other ground or termes of certainty, where ever they are divulged, is a thing out of your jurisdiction, you cannot discern or judge of it, therefore according to our word above, wee leave it as a parable unto you, as all the holy word of our God is, as your conversation in all points, as in this, daily declareth.

In a word, when wee have to doe in your jurisdiction, we know what it is to submit to the wise dispensations of our God, when you have to doe amongst us, in the liberties hee hath given unto us, wee doubt not, but you shall finde him judge amongst us, beyond and above any cause or thing you can propose unto us; And let that suffice you, and know, that you cannot maintaine a jurisdiction, but you must reject all inroades upon other mens priviledges, and so doe wee.

In the meane time, wee shall (as wee thinke good) bee calling over againe some matters that you have taken up and had the handling of them amongst you, to see what justice or equity wee finde hath beene exercised in them, and redresse them accordingly: for wee professe right unto all men, and not to doe any violence at all, as you in your prescript threaten to doe to us, for wee have learned how to discipline our children, or servants, without offering violence unto them, even so doe wee know how to deale with our debaish, rude, nay inhumane Neighbours, (or if you will, Nabals) without doing violence, but rather rendring unto them that which is their due.

Nor shall wee deprive a witnesse of his modest testimony for the
outcries,

out-cries, and clamours of such a one as ill bred apostatized *Arnauld* that felonious Hog-killer, being the partie to bee testified against, or for the oath of any interested in the cause, nor shall wee bee forward to come so farre, to finde your worke upon your request, till wee know you to beare another minde, then others of your Neighbours doe, with whom wee have had to doe in this country, whose pretended and devised Lawes wee have stooped under, to the robbing and spoiling of our goods, the livelyhood of our wives and children, thinking they had laboured, (though groping in great darkeness) to bring forth the truth, in the rights and equity of things, but finding them to bee a company of grosse diffembling hypocrites, that under the pretence of Law and Religion, havedone nothing else, but gone about to establish themselves in wayes to maintaine their owne vicious lusts, wee renounce their Diabolically practice, being such as have denyed in their publique Courts, that the lawes of our Native Country should bee named amongst them, yea those ancient statute lawes, casting us into most base nastie and insufferable places of imprisonment for speaking according to the language of them, in the meane while, breaking open our houses in a violent way of hostilitie (abusing our wives and our little ones) to take from us the volumes wherein they are preserved, thinking thereby to keepe us ignorant of the courses they are resolved to run, that so the viciousity of their owne wills might bee a law unto them, yea they have endeavoured, and that in publique expressions, that a man being accused by them, should not have liberty to answer for himselfe in open Court. Dealings of like nature wee finde in the place whereof you stile us your neighbours, (on whose unbridled malice, wee finde a higher then you putting a curbe) and yet in your account and reckoning wee are the parties that still are doing the wrong, and must beare the guilt in your most mature sentence, in whomsoever the spot ariseth and abideth. But the God of vengeance (unto whom our cause is referred, never having our protector and Judge to seeke) will shew himselfe in our deliverance out of the hands of you all, yea all the house of that *Ishbosheth* and *Mephibosheth*, nor will he faile us to utter and make knowne his strength (wherein wee stand) to serve in our age, and to minister in our Course, to day and to morrow, and on the third day, can none deprive us of perfection, for hee hath taught us to know what it is to walke to day, and to morrow, and the day following

following also, when a perishing estate cannot arise out of *Jerusalem*, though she be the onely one, (yea, none but she) that kills the Prophets and stones them that are sent unto her.

Behold yee that are looking after, and foretelling so much of the coming of Christ, driving the day before you still for certaine yeares, which some (you say) shall attaine unto, and unto the day of death for the rest, You blinde guides, as your fathers have ever done, so doe yee. Behold wee say, when ever hee appeareth, your house (which yee so glory in) shall bee left unto you desolate, it shall be turned into nothing but desolation and confusion, for *Babel* is its name; Nor shall you see him to your comfort in the glory of his kingdome, untill you can say, Blessed is hee that commeth in the name of the Lord, when the authority and power of man appears to bee the building of *Babel* unto you, and the name and authority of God onely, to bee that, wherein the blessing consists, and that in such wise also, as is nothing but a way of reproach, in the eyes of all the world, that a King should ride into his chiefe City, so strangely furnished, upon an Ass borrowed, her furniture old, overworn garments, and accompanied with none but poore, meane, excommunicated persons, such as your Elders, Scribes, Pharisees, Lawyers, and all your credible persons among you, make full account they are not onely accursed by, but also destitute and void of all law, when you can finde *Hofanna* in the highest, arising out of such contempt and shame, then, and then onely shall you sing unto him with comfort. In the meane time acknowledge your portion, which is to trust and stay your selves on the name of man, and in his beautie to delight and glory, which shall fade as a leafe, and like the grasse shall wither when it is fitting it self for the oven, such is man whose breath is in his nostrills, and the sonne of forrie man, in whom you delight to trust, his power and his policy brings forth nothing else, but as you shall see and heare in the Countrey from whence wee are brought. We are not ignorant of those shamefull lies and falsities gone out against us, and the daily wresting of our words, to cast contempt upon us, thinking to bow downe our backs under ignominie and reproach; Neither of those straits & difficulties they have cast us upon, in the things which concerne this present life, to the taking away of the lives of many, if our God had not been seen beyond and above what their thoughts could reach unto (as their owne confession hath witnessed,) doing
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it in such a way of painted hypocrisie and false gloffe unto the eye of the world, that wee might seeme unto it self-executioners. We RESOLVE therefore to follow our employments, and to carry and behave our selves as formerly wee have done (and no otherwise) for wee have wronged no man, unlesse with hard labour, to provide for our families, and suffering of grosse, idle, and idle droanes to take our labour out of the mouths, and from off the backs of our little ones, to lordane it over us.

So that if any any shall goe about to disturbe or annoy us henceforth in our employments and liberties, which God hath, or shall put into our hands, that can claime no interest in us but by these courses; what their businesse is, wee know by prooffe sufficient, to bee nothing else but that ancient errand of *Nimrod*, that rebellious hunter after the precious life; which errand of his shall bee no more delivered unto us in that covert cruelty, and dissembling way of hypocrisie, but in direct and open termes of tyrannie, wee will not bee dealt with as before, wee speake in the Name of our God, wee will not; For if any shall disturb us, as above, secret hypocrites shall become open Tyrants, and their lawes appeare to bee nothing else but meer lusts in the eyes of all the world.

And wherefore doe you murmure among your selves at this saying, thinking it is not a Christian expresseion? it is because you are ignorant of the crosse of our Lord Jesus, not knowing what it is: Therefore it is, that while you inveigh against such as set up a Statue of wood and stone, to bow downe unto it, and are so vaine, as to crosse the aire, (to use your owne expresseion) upon the face of infants, when they sprinkle them with water to as great purpose: And in the meane time you preach and set up *Seghnirim* for your crosse, whom you fall downe unto so willingly, and lest you let the word passe without exposition of it unto all, it signifies, Horreur and feare, which is the crosse you hold and teach, and by and thorow which you thinke to bee saved, which is a name given by our Lord unto the Devill himselfe, as our English translate it, and the Lord never gives name, as an empty title, but according to the nature of the thing named; so that if hee speake, I have said yee are gods, of any besides himselfe, it is to declare, that there is not onely the name, but the very nature of the god of this world, and therefore hee saith, they shall die, even as *Adam*, which aspired and usurped the place of God, and fall also as one of the Princes, even

as one of those princes of *Midian*, whose carcasses became dung for the earth; and hee that gives that title unto any but the true God (that made heaven and earth) in any other sense but as it declares a flat opposition against God, is re-acting that ancient spirit of the serpent, if yee eate, you shall bee as gods, to judge of good and evill, for which all men are set up in that kinde; even so, while you tell the people, that by sorrow, compunction, and anxiety, and trouble of minde, they communicate in the sufferings of Christ, out of which condition their comfort is to flow, is nothing else but to conclude the sonne of God to be Belial, yea, to affirme him to bee *Seghnirim* himself; this doth hee receive at your hands in your ministries, for all your fawning upon him with a kisse, so that if you will know how farre you are from communicating in the death of Christ, take it in this parable, verily, as farre as the weakness of God is stronger then man.

Country-men, for wee cannot but call you so, though wee finde your carriage towards us to bee so farre worse then these Indians, wee advise you to take things together, and what God hath joyned, let none dare to put asunder: So that if you bee ashamed of the crosse in Baptisme, bee ashamed of the Baptisme also, for such as the crosse is, such is the Baptisme, therefore your ancestors goe beyond you in that, to joyne crossing of the aire, and sprinkling with the element of water together, but where ever Baptisme according to the word of Christ is, there is the crosse of Christ also, they can no more bee separated, then his scepter and kingdom can, for where the one is, there is the other also, and as they are co-incident, so are they co-apparant; So that if ever you see the baptism of Christ truly in use, and exercised upon any, you do as truly see that party partaking and communicating with the crosse and sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to see persons in such estate, and to conclude that afterwards they may bee worthy of censure, yea possibly unto an *anathema maranatha*, is nothing else but to conclude a totall and finall falling away from the grace of God, as your fathers have done before you; for no grace greater then the crosse of our Lord Jesus.

Behold therefore you despisers, the vanity and abomination of all your baptismes, how prejudiciall they are to the crosse of Christ: bee ashamed and return in time, or hee shall bee a swift witnessse against you for ever, when your repentance shall come too

late;

late; but you thinke the croffe of Chrifft is not, but onely in bowing the back under every burden, and cringing and crouching unto the luft of every man, otherwise his *Shebett* is not fit, nor fuiteth it at all with your Regiment, unleffe fo fervile, that every man may ferve his owne luft of him, to get wealth and honour, friends and allies, by fetting bounds and limits unto the holy Word of God; fome in the way of one device, and fome according to another, and he that will not either walk as a dumbe beast, (worfe then *Balaams Affe*) and fay nothing, or elfe give a fenfe of the holy writings to maintaine the devifed platforme, if mercy muft bee used, not to hang and burn, yet banifhment is ready waiting upon them; therefore fhall you know by the Rod of his power that comes out of *Sion*, that hee will bee Ruler, even in the midft of his enemies.

Per us whom you stile your neighbours of *Providence*, you have faid it, *Providence* is our Hold, the neighbourhood of the *Samaritan* wee professe. And for the lookings on, and turnings aside of your Priests and Levites, without either unktion, or bowells of compaffion, all thofe flaine and wounded in foule amongst you, finding no remedy, doe plainly teftifie unto all men the nature of your travailes and neighbourhood what it is, that neither the oyle of thofe two olive trees, nor the fatneffe of that vine, which maketh glad God and man, is converfant amongst you; your fpeech to us in generall, not ufing our names, whereas wee know, it is particulars you aime at, gives us plainely to fee, the word *Ælem* revived and living in you, as it ftands with its coherence in *Pfalme 58*.

John Wickes
Randall Howldon
Robert Potter
Samuel Gorton
John Greene
Francis Weston
Richard Carder
Richard Waterman
Nicholas Power
John Warner
William Waddell

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7138

From our Neck: Curo, September 15. 1643.

TO the great and honoured Idol Generall, now set up in the *Maffachusetts*, whose pretended equity in distribution of Justice unto the soules and bodies of men, is nothing else but a meer device of man, according to the ancient customes & fleights of Satan, transforming himself into an angel of Light, to subject and make flaves of that species or kinde that God hath honoured with his owne Image, read *Dan. 3.* Chap. wherein (if it be not like *Lots* love unto the *Sodomites*) you may see, the visage or countenance of the State, for wee know the found of all the musick, from the highest note of wind-instruments, sounding, or set up by the breath or voices of men, (to have dominion and rule as though there were no God in heaven or in earth but they, to doe right unto the sonnes of men) unto the lowest tones of the stringed instruments, subjecting themselves to hand or skill of the devised ministrations of men, as though God had made man to bee a vassall to his owne species or kinde, for hee may as well bee a slave to his belly, and make it his God, as to any thing that man can bring forth, yea, even in his best perfection, who can lay claime to no title or terme of honour but what the dust, rottenesse, and putrefaction can afford, for that of right belongeth solely to our Lord Christ. Woe therefore unto the world, because of the Idols thereof; for Idols must needs be set up, but woe unto them by whom they are erected.

Out of the abovesaid principles, which is the kindome of darkness and of the devill; you have writ another Note unto us, to adde to your former pride and folly, telling us againe, you have taken *Pumham*, with others into your Jurisdiction and Government, and that upon good grounds (as you say:) you might have done well to have proved your selfe Christians, before you had mingled your selves with the heathen, that so your children might have knowne how to put a distinction betwixt yours and them in after times, but wee perceive that to bee too hard a worke for your selves to performe, even in time present. But if you will communicate Justice and Government with that Indian, wee advise you to keep him amongst your selves, where hee, and you may performe that worthy worke: Yet upon a better ground, wee can informe you that hee may not expect former curtesies from us, for now by
your

your Note, wee are resolved of his breach of Covenant with us, in this his seeking and subjection unto you, which formerly hee hath alwayes denied; let him and you know therefore, that hee is to make other provision for his planting of corne hereafter, than upon *Mshawomet*, for wee will not harbour amongst us any such fawning, lying, and cadaverous person as hee is, after knowledge of him, as now in part you have given unto us, onely hee shall have liberty sufficient to take away his corne, habitation, or any of his implements, so be it hee passe away in peace and quiet, which might in no case bee admitted, if it were so that wee lived by blood, as you doe, either through incision of the nose, division of the eare from the head, stigmatize upon the back, suffocation of the veines, through extremity of cold, by your banishments in the winter, or strangled in the flesh with a halter. But we know our course, professing the kingdome of God and his righteousness, renouncing that of darknesse and the devill, wherein you delight to trust, for without the practise of these things, you cannot kisse your hand, blesse the Idol, nor professe your vowes and offerings to bee paid and performed. O yee generation of vipers, who hath fore-warned you, or fore-stalled your mindes with this, but Satan himselfe, that the practise of these things is to fly from the wrath to come; Whereas the very exercise and performance of them, is nothing else but the vengeance and wrath of God upon you already, in that mankind, so harmonically made in the Image of God, is in the exercises of the kingdome, become the torturer and tormentor, yea the executioner of it selfe, whilst those of you that are of the same stock and stem, worke out, yea, and that curiously, through the law of your mindes, the death and destruction of one another; when as, in the meane time, the same nature or substance, in the way of our Lord Jesus, saves both it selfe and others. You tell us of complaints made by the Indians, of unjust dealings and injuries done unto them, why doe they not make them knowne to us, they never complained to us of any thing done unto this day, but they had satisfaction to the full, according to their owne minde, for oft wee know, in what they expresse unto us, although our wrongs insufferable done by them lie still in the deck, for wee know very well, wee have plenty of causelesse adversaries, wanting no malice that Satan can inject, therefore wee suffer much, that in the perfection and heighth of their plots, they may receive the greater

rebuke and shame for their baseneffe, in the eies of all the world.

To which end wee have not onely committed our condition unto writings, but them also into the hands and custody of such friends, from whom they shall not bee taken by any, or by all the governments of this Country, as formerly they have beene, that so our wrongs might not appeare ; therefore never picke a quarrell against us in these things, for wee know all your stiles and devices, that being you now want such as old malicious *Arnauld*, one of your low stringed instruments, to exercise his fiddle amongst us, and wee are void of your benediction also, sprung out of the same stock to make rents and divisions for you to enter to gaine honour unto your selves in having patients to heale, though they lie never so long under your hands, your chirurgerie must bee thought never the worse. Wanting these or such like of the English, to betray the liberties, God hath given us into your hands, now you worke by your coadjutors, these accursed Indians ; but you are deceived in us, we are not a Cope fitted for your so eager appetite, no otherwise, then if you take it downe it shall prove unto you a Cope of trembling, either making you vomit out your owne eternall shame, or else to burst in funder with your fellow confessor for aire, *Judas Iscariot.*

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head Cup
ce.]

l. 21,
Judas.]

For Mr. *Winthrop* and his Copartner *Parker*, may not thinke to lay our purchased plantation to their Iland so neere adjoyning, for they come too late in that point, though *Benedick* hath reported that *Myantonimo*, one of the *Sachims*, of whom wee bought it, should lose his head for selling his right thereof to us.

As also a minister affirmed that Mr. *Winthrop* should say to him, that wee should either bee subjected unto you, or else removed hence, though it should cost *Bloud*. Know therefore, that our lives are set apart already for the case wee have in hand, so wee will lose nothing but what is put apart aforehand, bethinke your selves therefore what you should gaine by fetching of them, in case it were in your power, for our losse should bee nothing at all.

For wee are resolved, that according as you put forth your selves towards us, so shall you finde us transformed to answer you. If you put forth your hand to us as country-men, ours are in readinesse for you: If you exercise the pen, accordingly doe wee become a ready writer; If your sword bee drawne, ours is girt upon our thigh; If you present a gun, make haste to give the first fire: for we
are

are come to put fire upon the earth, and it is our desire to have it speedily kindled.

For your pursuite of us, still, to come your Courts, to receive your parcells of Justice, undoubtedly either God hath blinded your eyes that you see not our answer formerly given in that point, or else you are most audacious to urge it upon us againe; also you may take notice that wee take it in more disdain then you could doe, in case we should importune you (yea) the chiefe amongst you, to come up to us, and bee employed according to our pleasure, in such workes as wee thought good to set you about; and for your grant of freedome unto us to come downe to you, and returne in safety, wee cannot sufficiently vilifie this your verball and perfunctory offer, knowing very well, according to the verdict of your owne conscience, that what wrongs soever are passed amongst us since our comming into this Country, you have beene the violent agents, and wee the patients. To feare therefore to come amongst you as such as have done wrong, the cause vanissheth in us, so must the effect also. And to feare to come unto you as tyrants, which your grant must necessarily implies, wee cannot, knowing that hee which is with us, is stronger then hee which is with you.

Also the earth is the Lords and the fullnesse thereof, and when, and where hee shall call wee will goe, but not at the will and lust of sorry men to play their parts with us at their pleasure, as formerly they have done, and as it is apparant you desire to doe, for if your lusts prevailed not over you in that kinde, you might well thinke that wee have better employments then to trot to the *Massachusetts* upon the report of a lying Indian, or English either, as your factors and ordinary hacknies doe.

But know this O yee—that so long as wee behave our selves as men, *walking in the name of our God*, where ever wee have occasion to come, if any mortall man whose breath is in his nostrils, dares to call us into question, wee dare to give an answer to him, or them, nor shall wee faile through God, to give testimony even in his conscience of the hope that is in us, whether his question may concerne the rice or succession either of Priest or Peere. In the meantime we sit in safety under the cloudy pillar, while the Nations roare and make a noise about us, and though you may looke upon us with the unopened eye of *Eliahs* servant, thinking us as nothing to those that are against us, yet wherever the cloud rests, wee know the

Lords

32 *The second letter of Samuel Gorton and his Accomplices,*
Lords returne to the many thousands of Israel.

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In that you say our freedome granted to come to you, takes away all excuse from us, wee freely retort it upon your selves to to make excuses, whose Lawes and proceedings with the foules and bodies of men, is nothing else but a continued art (like the horse in the mill) of accusing and excusing, which you doe by circumstances and conjectures, as all the fathers have done before you, the Diviners and Necromancers of the world, who are gone to their owne place and have their reward; But for the true nature, rise, and distribution of things as they are indeed and shall remaine and abide as a law firme and stable forever, wee say and can make it good, you know nothing at all, therefore such as can delight themselves in preaching, professing, and executing of such things, as must end as the brute beasts doe, may take them away for present and they have lost their honour, religion, as also their God; let such wee say, know themselves to bee that beast and false prophet, no man of God at all. In the meane time wee looke not on the things that are seene, but on the things that are not seene, knowing the one are temporary, the other eternall. Nor doe wee thinke the better of any man for being invested into places or things that will in time waxe old as doth a garment, neither judge we the worse of any man for the want of them: for if we should we must condemne the Lord Christ, as so many doe at this day.

Wee demand when wee may expect some of you to come to us, to answer and give satisfaction for some of these foule and inhumane wrongs you have done, not to the Indians, but to us your country-men: not to bring in a Catalogue, as we might, take this one particular abuse you are now acting; in that you abet, and backe these base Indians to abuse us. Indeed *Pumham* is an aspiring person, as becomes a Prince of his profession, for having crept into one of our neighbours houses, in the absence of the people, and feloniously rifled the same, hee was taken comming out againe at the Chimney-top: *Soccononoco* also hath entred in like manner into one of our houses with divers of his companions, and breaking open a chest, did steale out divers parcels of goods, some part whereof, as some of his companions have affirmed, are in his custody at this time. Yet we stand still to see to what good issue you will bring your proceedings with these persons, by whom you are so honorably attended in the Court generall, as you call it, and would honour

nour us also, to come three or fourescore miles to stand by you and them ; wee could tell you also that it is nothing with these fellows to fend our cattle out of the woods with arrowes in their sides, as at this present it appears in one even now so come home, and it is well they come home at all, for sometimes their wigwams can receive them, and wee have nothing of them at all; yea they can domineere over our wives and children in our houses, when wee are abroad about our necessary occasions, sometimes throwing stones, to the endangering of their lives, and sometimes violently taking our goods, making us to runne for it if wee will have it, and if wee speake to them to amend their manners, they can presently vaunt it out, that the *Massachusetts* is all one with them, let the Villanie they doe bee what it will , they thinke themselves secure, for they looke to bee upheld by you in whatever they doe, if you bee stronger then them which they have to deale withall, and they looke with the same eye your selves doe, thinking the multitude will beare downe all, and perswade themselves (as well as they may) that you tolerate and maintaine them in other of their daily practices, as lying, Sabbath-breaking, taking of many wives, grosse whoredomes, and fornications, so you will doe also, in their stealing, abusing of our Children, and the like, for you have your diligent ledgers amongst them that inculcate daily upon this, how hatefull wee are unto you, calling us by other names of their owne devising, bearing them in hand, wee are not English men, and therefore the object of envy of all that are about us, and that if wee have any thing to doe with you, the very naming our persons shall cast our case bee it what it will, as it is too evident by the case depending betweene *William Arnauld* and *John Warner*, that no sooner was the name of *Mr. Gorton* mentioned amongst you, but *Mr. Dudley* disdainefully asking, is this one, joyned to *Gorton*, and *Mr. Winthrop* unjustly upon the same speech, refused the oath of the witnesse calling him knight of the post : are these the wayes and persons you trade by towards us? are these the people you honour your selves withall? the Lord shall lay such honour in the dust, and bow downe your backs with shame and sorrow to the grave, and declare such to bee Apostatizers from the truth, and falsifiers of the word of God onely to please men, and serve their owne lusts, that can give thanks in their publique Congregations for their unity with such grosse abominations as these. Wee must needs aske you another question from

a Sermon now preached amongst you, namely how that blood relisheth you have sucked formerly from us, by casting us upon straights above our strength, that, have not beene exercised in such kinde of labours, no more then the best of you in former times in removing us from our former conveniences, to the taking away of the lives of some of us, when you are about your dished up dainties, having turned the juice of a poore silly Grape that perisheth in the use of it, into the bloud of our Lord Jesus by the cunning skill of your Magicians, which doth make mad and drunke so many in the world, and yet a little sleepe makes them their owne men againe, so can it heale and pacifie the consciences at present, but the least hand of God returnes the feares and terroure againe, let our bloud wee say present it selfe together herewith, you hypocrites when will you answer such cases as these, and wee doe hereby promise unto you, that wee will never looke man in the face if you have not a fairer hearing then ever wee had amongst you, or can ever expect; And bee it knowne to you all, that we are your owne Country-men, whatever you report of us, though the Lord hath taught us a language you never spoake, neither can you heare it, and that is the cause of your alienation from us; for as you have mouthes and speake not, so have you eares & heare not; so we leave you to the judgement and arraignment of God Almighty. *The joynt act, not of the Court Generall, but of the peculiar fellowship, now abiding upon Mshawomet*
Randall Holden.

This they owned in Court though onely Holdens hand were to it.

Postscriptum.

WEE need not put a seale unto this our warrant, no more then you did to yours. The Lord hath added one to our hands, in the very conclusion of it, in that effusion of blood, and horrible Massacre, now made at the Dutch plantation, of our loving Country-men, women, and children, which is nothing else, but the compleate figure in a short epitomie of what wee have writ, summed up in one entire act, and left you should make it part of your justification, as you do all such like acts, provided they bee not upon your owne backs, concluding them to be greater sinners then your selves, wee tell you (nay) but except you repent, you shall likewise perish.

For

For wee aske you who was the cause of Mistresse *Hutchinson* her departure from amongst you, was it voluntarie? No, shee changed her phrasas according to the dictates of your tutors, and confessed her mistakes, that so shee might give you content to abide amongst you, yet did you expell her and cast her away; no lesse are you the originall of her removall from *Aquethneck*, for when shee saw her children could not come downe amongst you, no not to conferre with you in your own way of brotherhood; but be clapt up, and detained by so long imprisonment, rumors also being noised, that the Island should bee brought under your Government, which if it should, shee was fearefull of their lives, or else to act against the plaine verdict of their owne conscience, having had so great and apparant proove of your dealings before, as also the Island being at such divisions within it selfe, some earnestly desiring it should bee delivered into your hands, professing their unity with you, others denyed it, professing their dissent and division from you, though for what themselves know not, but onely their abominable pride to exercise the like tyranny.

From these and such like workings having their originall in you, shee gathered unto her selfe and tooke up this fiction, (with the rest of her friends) that the Dutch plantation was the Citie of refuge, as shee had gathered like things from your doctrines before, when she seemed to hold out some certaine glimpses or glances of light, more then appeared elsewhere whilst there was such to approve it, in whom there might bee some hope to exalt the instruments thereof, higher then could bee expected from others, but you know very well you could never rest nor bee at quiet, till you had put it under a Bushe, *id est*, bounded and measured the infinite and immense word of God, according to your owne shallow, humane, and carnall capacities, which, howsoever may get the highest seates in your Synagogues, Synods, and Jewish Synedrions, yet shall it never enter into the kingdome of God to be a doore-keeper there. Do not therefore beguile your selves in crying out against the errours of those so miserably false, for they are no other things which they held but branches of the same root your selves so stoutly stand upon, but know this that now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, whereof you are a part, and every tree that brings not forth fruit according to the law of that good things, which the father knowes, how to give to those that aske it, shall bee cut

downe, and cast it into the fire : Neither doe you fill up your speeches or tales , (wee meane your Sermons) but that wee affect not the Idolizing of words , no more then of persons or places. For your selves know the word is no more but a bruit or talke, as you know also your great and terrible word Magistrate, is no more in its originall, then Masterly, or Masterlesse, which hath no great lustre in our ordinary acceptation. Therefore wee looke to finde and enjoy the substance , and let the ceremony of these things , like vapours vanish away , though they gather themselves into clouds, without any water at all in them, the Lord is in the mean time a dew unto *Israel*, and makes him to grow like a lillie, casting out his roots and branches as *Lebanon*.

We say, fill not up your talk as your manner is, crying, that shee went out without ordinances , for God can raise up out of that stone, which you have already rejected, as children, so also ministers and ordinances unto *Abraham*: You may remember also, that every people and poore plantation, formerly fleeced by you, cannot reach unto the hire of one of your Levites , nor fetch in , one such Dove as you send abroad into our native Country, to carry and bring you news.

Nor can you charge them in that point, for it was for protection or government shee went; And however, hire, in other respects, yet the price of a wife, and safetie of his owne life adjoynd, carryed a Minister along with them of the same rise and breeding together with your owne, to adde unto the blood so savagely and causelessly spilt, with a company of such as you take pleasure to protect, for they are all of one spirit , if they have not hands in the same act; we say their death is causelesse, for wee have heard them affirm that shee would never heave up a hand , no nor move a tongue against any that persecuted or troubled them, but onely endeavour to save themselves by flight, not perceiving the nature and end of persecution, neither of that antichristian opposition and tyrannie, the issue whereof declares it self in this so and lamentable.

Note, good Reader, that I had order to publish these two Letters of his, as well *literatim* as *verbatim*, but because their Orthography was so bad, as it would scarce have been understood, I left it to bee corrected by the Printer, but no word to be changed: And the reason of the word here left out, is, because it was worne
and

out, and so soyled in the originall as wee could not read it , and thought good rather to leave it a blanck, then to put in a word of our own that was not theirs.

In the next place, I present thee here with certaine Observations collected out of both their Letters, by a godly and reverend Divine, whereby the Reader may the better understand them , and indeed try the spirits of these men, whether they be of God or no. Now these his Observations are ranked into three Heads: *Viz.*

First, their reproachfull and reviling speeches of the Government and Magistrates of the *Maffachusetts*, which in *Gortons* Booke hee pretends so much to honour, because their Government is derived from the State of *England*; and therefore I desire thee to take the better notice of it.

The second Head of his Observations directs thee to their reviling language, not onely against that particular Government , and the Magistrates of it, but against Magistracy it selfe, and all Civill power.

And in his third Head, thou art directed to take notice of their blasphemous speeches against the holy things of God. All which because they are of great concernment, I beseech the Reader to take a little paines to compare them with Mr. *Gortons* and his Companies Letters.



Certaine Observations collected out of both their *LETTERS*.

I. *Their reproachfull and reviling Speeches of the Government and Magistrates of the Massachusetts.*

9. 1.  Hey say our Magistrates did lay their Wisdome prostrate, in sending Letters to them, which they scornfully call an irregular Note.
- 2 That they bare them causlesse enmity, the prooffe whereof every occasion brings forth.
- 3 They flily call them the seed of the ancient mother; i. of the enmity of the Devill.
- 4 That they know it is the name of Christ call'd upon them, against which our Magistrates doe strive.
- 5 That they goe about to hide their sin, as *Adam*, bearing the world in hand, that they desire not to contend, but to redresse something in point of Civill peace.
- 6 That they stand on tip-toe to stretch themselves beyond their bounds, to seek occasion against them.
- 7 That those who accuse them, are accusers of the Brethren, Satan being a lyer, and the father of it; which thing our Magistrates cannot know though they be told of it.
10. 8 That this act of theirs to treat about their land, is a mappe of their spirituall estate.
- 9 That they delight daily to eate of the forbidden fruit (which they call mans wisdome) out of which our Churches and Common-wealth is formed) to gaine conformity with their maker.
- 10 They scorn at their purity and godlineffe, telling them that *Cole* and *Arnold* their dissembling subjects, are full of the spirit of their purity.
- 11 They doe not say plainly that our Magistrates are dogs, but compare them to dogs in refusing their vomit into its former
con-

concoction, by receiving *Cole* and *Arnold* under our jurisdiction.

12 That the whole structure and edifice among us (*i.* the Churches and Common-wealth) is raised up in the spirit of an hireling, and that by submission to the Word of God in fasting, feasting, retirednesse for study, contributing, treasuring (*i.* for Church uses in severall Churches) they doe nothing else but bring forth fruit unto death.

13 That farther then the Lord Jesus agrees with riches, honour and ease, our Magistrates minde him not, nay, renounce, and reject him.

14 That they plainly crucifie Christ, and put him to an open shame, which the Apostle, *Hebr. 6.* applies to the worst of men, who commit the unpardonable sin, and for whom men are not to pray.

Pag. 11.

15 That our Magistrates are as farre from yeelding subjection to Christ, as *Cole* and *Arnold* from being honourable and loyall subjects, whom they call the shame of Religion, the disturbance and disquiet of the place, dissembling subjects, *pag. 10.* as also deboist, rude, inhumane *Nabals*, il-bred, apostatized persons, and felonious, *page 23.* with many such like speeches.

Pag. 12.

16 That the things of Gods kingdome are infinitely beyond the reach of their spirit, nor can they heare the lively Oracle, and therefore are dumb in telling Justice.

17 That the Magistrates are Jewes according to the flesh, and stout maintainers of the man of Sin.

18 That they know our Magistrates eyes are dazled with envy, and their ears open to lyes.

Pag. 13.

19 That they judge them before their cause be heard.

Pag. 15.

20 That in inviting them to their Courts for their equal-balanced Justice (as they scornfully call it) they thereby strike at Christ their life.

21 That our Magistrates are like *Herod*, whom God smote with wormes, for seeking by an out-reaching and circumventing policy to subdue *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and like *Pontius Pilate*, and the people who out of the Judgement hall are all for mercy, but in it nothing but crucifie him, crucifie him, bee their accusations, and witneses never so false, so (say they) in your dealings with men in way of the Jewish brotherhood, your law is all for mercy, to redresse, reforme, for preservation of soule and body, doe but enter into the

Pag. 16.

Com-

Common-hall, then if witnessees bee but brought in, and oath taken though never so untrue, your Consciencences are purged by law, and your power must have tribute paid it, so far as to brand mens names with infamy, and deprive women and children of things necessary.

22 That the professed clemency and mercy of their law, is as much as in them lyes, to send both soule and body downe to *Sheol* (i. the grave and hell) forever, without redresse and all hope of recovery.

23 That their houre and power of darknesse is knowne, what it is either to have mens persons in admiration because of advantage, or else to seek all occasions against them, with all manner of reproach and ignominie.

17. 24 That their wayes are wicked, and to bee abhorred, because in their professed course the two witnessees are flaine by them, and put to death; and that all their glory is to keep their corpse unburied; and these two witnessees are the life and death of the Lord Jesus.

18. 25 That the light appearing among them, is nothing but the light of *Balaam*, so that in seeing, they see not, but communicate onely in the light of that Beast who put the witnessees to death.

26 They tell our Magistrates, that they never come amongst them, but they see themselves in a regiment of grosse and palpable darknesse, and discern you to scrabble on the wall for the door of *Lots* house.

19. 27 That they know not what a true witnesse is.

22, 23. 28 That the whole Word of God is a parable to them, as their conversation in all points daily declare it.

29 That they will not come neare our Magistrates, untill they know they beare another minde from their neighbours, whom they call robbers, grosse dissembling hypocrites, who doe nothing but goe about to establish such wayes as may maintaine their owne vicious lusts, whose laws are pretended and devised, and whose practises(they say)they renounce as diabolicall.

24. 30 Yee blind guides(say they to our Magistrates)as your fathers have ever done, so do you.

25. 31 You set up *Segnirim* (i. as themselves interpret) feare and horror, or the devill, by, and for the which you hope to bee saved.

26. 32 That their carriage towards them, is farre worse then that of the

the *Indians*, whom themselves cry out of to bee thieves and robbers; pag. 32.

33 That they are despisers; Behold (say they) yee despisers, the vanity and abominations of all your baptismes.

34 Yee think (say they) that the crosse of Christ is nothing but bowing down the back to every burden, and cringing and crouching to the lust of every man.

35 They call the generall Court, the great Idol Generall, whose pretended equity in distributing Justice is a meer device of man according to the sleights of Satan. Pag. 28.

36 They tell the Court, that out of the kingdome of darknesse and the devill, they had writ another Note to adde to their former pride and folly.

37 For taking *Pumham* and *Sachanonoco* (*Indian Sachims*) under their protection; they tell the Court they might have done well to have proved themselves Christians before they had mixt themselves with the heathen; but this was too hard for them to doe.

38 They advise the Court (in scorn) to keep the *Indian* with them, where he and they might perform that worthy work of distributing Justice. Pag. 29.

39 They tell the Court that they live by blood.

40 They tell the Court, they renounce the kingdom of darknesse, and the devill, wherein the Court delights to trust.

41 They call the Court, O ye generation of Vipers.

42 They tell the Court, they are not a cup fit for their appetite, but a cup of trembling either to make them vomit up their owne eternall shame, or else to make them burst asunder with their fellow confessor *Judas Iscariot*. Pag. 30.

43 That the Court is either blind or audacious in desiring them to come for their parcells of Justice, and that they disdain to come to them.

44 They professe they cannot sufficiently vilifie the promise of the Court, that they shall come down to them and return in safety; which they call a verball and perfunctory offer.

45 They tell the Court, that if their lusts had not prevailed over them, they might thinke they had better employment then to trot to *Massachusetts* as their factors, and ordinary hackneys doe.

46 They tell the Court that their lawes and proceedings with the Pag. 32.

the foules and bodies of men, is nothing else but a continued act of accusing and excusing (like the horse in the mill) which (say they) you doe by circumstances and conjectures, as also your fathers have done before you, the Diviners and Necromancers of this world, who are gone to their owne place, and have their reward.

g. 33. 47 They accuse our Magistrates for maintaining *Indians* in their lying, sabbath-breaking, grosse whoredomes, stealing, &c.

g. 34. 48 That they are hypocrites, having eyes and see not, eares and hear not, mouths and speak not.

Now had these men returned a rationall answer, it might have been meet perhaps by a few marginall Notes to have returned some short Reply; but both their Letters being fraught with little else then meer raylings, and reproachfull language, it may be sufficient thus to present them in one view together, that so the wise and prudent may take a taste of their spirits, and learne from what fire it is that their tongues are thus highly inflamed. If our Courts and Magistrates had been in any thing to blame, what a faire and easie way had it been to have first convinced them, before they had thus bitterly reviled them; but thus to cut and shave, and cast all this filth in their faces without proof or reason, argues a bold and insolent spirit fitted to make combustions and confusions in the place where they live. If indeed the Magistrates had given them any fore provocations of returning ill language, there might have been some excuse, but alasse, all the cause that can bee given of most of this ill language, is nothing but writing friendly unto them, to send some from themselves to clear up the differences between them and the *Indians*, and to shew their just title to the land they possessed: if they had kept this flood within their owne bankes, or been but moderate in revilings, it might have been winkt at; but to fly out into such extremity on so small provocation against their betters, so as to call them Idolls, blind-guides, despisers, generation of vipers, such as crucifie Christ, men that serve their owne lusts, hypocrites, the seed of the Devill, Necromancers, Judasses, men that live by blood, robbers and thieves, men without mercy, among whom Justice is dumbe, delighting in the kingdome of darknesse and the devill, like *Herod* and *Pilate* in administering Justice, whose eyes are dazled with envie, and eares open to lies, stout maintainers

of the man of Sin, whose wayes are wicked, and to bee abhorred; worse then *Indians*, like dogs, &c. This language speakes loud to what Countrey they belong, and of what race they come.

I I. *Their reviling Language not onely against the Magistrates and Government here in particular, but also against Magistracy it self, and all Civill power.*

IF any shall say for them (as themselves now for their owne advantage doe) that this ill language is directed onely against our particular Government and Magistrates, but not against all Civill power it self, the contrary may appear (notwithstanding their dark language, under which some times they seek to conceale it) in these particulars.

“¹ They exprefly affirm that the Office to minifter Justice, be- Pag. 16.
“longs onely to the Lord : and that therefore (from their instance
“of *Herod*) men make themselves Gods, (which themselves inter-
“pret to be onely from the God of this world, and to be in flat op-
“position against God, *pag. 26.*) by ruling over the bodies and e-
“states of men; and that the people receiving *Herod* to Government,
“& crying out that this was the ordinance of God, and not of man,
“that he was immediately smitten of God for it: As also they tell
“us, *p. 26.* that to set up men to Judge of good and evil, for which
“all men are set up in that kinde ; that this is re-acting that
“ancient spirit of the Serpent, If yee eate, yee shall bee as
“Gods.

Now this strikes at all Magistracy, for if the office of ministring justice and righteoufnesse belongs to God onely, then not unto any man, for that is to make Gods of men; and if to judge betweene good and evill bee to act over againe the ancient spirit of the Serpent, then 'tis not onely unlawfull, but diabolically, to make Judges of what is right and wrong, good or evill by any man.

If it bee objected, is it possible that any men should bee so grossly blind and wicked, as to abolish all ministration of Justice and righteoufnesse?

Answ. 1. These men seeme to acknowledge some way of ministring Justice, but the mysterie lies in that word *Office*, they would
G 2 have

have no man set up in the Office of Magistracy, distinguished from other men, but would have such a power common to the Brethren, so that a man may judge as a brother, but not as an Officer, and therefore they flily justifie him, who called one of our chiefe Magistrates in the open face of the Court, *Brother*, and condemne all our Magistrates, because every man doth not fit there to judge as a Brother, *pag. 16.* and their reason seems to bee drawne from this, because that to bee a Brother, and consequently a coheire with “Christ, is a higher sphere then to bee a Civill Officer, as their owne words intimate, *pag. 16.* Now the rule is evident *à quatenus ad omne*, that if ministration of Justice and judgement belongs to no officer, but to a man as a Brother, then to every Brother, and if to every Brother, whether rich or poore, ignorant or learned, then every Christian in a Common-wealth must bee King, and Judge, and Sheriffe, and Captaine, and Parliament man, and Ruler, and that not onely in *New-England*, but in *Old*, and not onely in *Old*, but in all the Christian world; downe with all Officers from their Rule, and set up every Brother for to Rule, which the godly-wise may easily discern to bee the establishment of all confusion, and the setting up of Anarchy worse then the greatest Tyranny.

2. Although these may beare the world in hand that they allow ministration of Justice and righteoufnesse by men as Brethren, yet some Cakes of these mens dough have been so farre leavened and fowred against all Civill power, as that in our Publike Courts, being demanded how murderers, theeves, and adulterers should bee punished if there should bee no Civill power coercive, they openly and roundly answered before many witneses, that such persons must be left to the judgment of God, both which not long after God himselfe fate Judge upon, being suddenly and barbarously flaine by the bloody *Indians* in the *Dutch* plantation.

g. 18, 19. “First, they exclaime against us for choosung men that are honourable, learned, wise, experienced, and of good report, or “else they may not rule among us, and this, they say, is of man, “and by man, and putting the second witnesse to death, *viz.* the “death or weaknesse of Christ, or in plaine English, ’tis a killing “of Christ.

Now however the application is made unto our Civill State, yet it manifestly strikes at all Civill States in the world, who shall chooſe

choofe any Officers for rule and government, and adminiftring of Juftice, although they bee never fo honourable, learned, wife, experienced, and of good report, and confequently moft fit for government; and that in fo chufing them they doe put Chrift himfelf to death. So that thefe men ftill harp on that ftiring to have every man judge as a Brother, whether honourable or not honourable, whether wife or foolifh, whether of good report or evill report, otherwife Chrifts weakneffe is flaine.

3. "They affirme that they who can create, make void, and "remove offices and officers at their pleasure, are of that evill one, " (*i.* the devill) and not of Jefus Chrift, but of *Shedim* that wafter "and deftroyer of mankind for ever. Their prooffe is from that monftrous interpretation of Yea, yea, and Nay, nay, and they inftance not onely in Church-officers, but in Common-wealth-officers, whether Rulers or Captaines. Their words are thefe, "*viz.* Hee with whom it is yea, I am a Ruler, but it was nay when "I was none at all, renounceth the fpirit of him that rules in righteoufneffe, profeffing the fpirit of him that is Prince of the "power of the aire, who is working now fo effectually in the "children of difobedience; fo alfo hee with whom it is yea, I "am captaine, or chief-flaughter-man, but it was nay, time was "that I was none at all, renounceth the victory and flaughter "made by the Captaine and High-prieft of our profeffion, "profeffing himfelfe to bee a fuperfluous Giant made in the "hoft of the *Philiftims*, to defie the hoft of the living God.

Pag. 22.

By which fpeeches 'tis evident that they doe not onely oppofe Civill officers chofen amongft us here, but all fuch as are chofen Rulers, Captaines, and Officers at any time, in any place, and were not fo before; and fuch they fay are of the Devill the deftroyer of man.

4. "They fay men limit, and fo deftroy the holy one of *Ifrael*, "whose life is infinite, and without circumscription and containment (as they call it) if men acknowledge that Chrift rules on "earth onely by his Deputies, Litvtendants, and Vicegerents, (*i.* by "persons invefted with Civill authority and office, for fo they are called by Orthodox Divines) and therefore they fay that his "putting Chrift to death, when onely wife, and honourable, and "learned, and experienced, and men of good report, are chofen "to rule, becaufe they would have the Power to rule common to

Pag. 18.

all Christians, but as for the *office* of rule to bee peculiar to none, “and therefore *Pag. 24.* they tell us that none shall see Christ come “into his kingdome with comfort, untill the authority and power of man appears to be as the building of *Babel*, and the name and “authority of God onely to bee that wherein the blessing confists; meaning that ’tis Babylonish building which God misliked, and confounded, for any man in office to rule and governe, because this is to limit the power and life of Christ (which is in every brother as well as in any officer) and so to kill the life of Christ; so that if any of them say that although they distaste officers, as Kings and others by election, yet not such as are so by hereditary succession, they are but words to fute their owne ends for a time, and to delude others, for if it bee limiting the holy One of Israel, a circumscribing and so destroying the life of Christ which is infinite, for to make him rule by his Deputies and Vicegerents on earth, then not onely Kings and Princes, whether by election or no, but all other civill officers must bee abandoned, because the life and power of Christ is limited in successive as well as in elective Princes, in inferiour as well as in superiour governours, who are Christs Deputies, and Vicegerents, and therefore called *Rom. 13. 4.* the Ministers of God either for good or terrour.

g. 28.

5. They call our generall Court the Idoll generall, which is nothing else but a device of man by the sleight of Sathan to subject “and make slaves of that species or kinde which God hath honored with his owne Image, and they do not onely speake thus “of our Courts as Idols, but they cry out woe unto the world because of the Idols thereof, for Idols must needs bee set up, but “woe be unto them by whom they are erected, and their reason reacheth to all civill power, (for say they) a man may be as well a “slave to his belly, and make that his god, as be a vassall to his owne “species, or kinde, or to any thing that man can bring forth even in “his best perfection.

There are other evidences of their corrupt minde herein from other passages in their letters which they speake under more obscure cloudes and allegories, but these may bee a sufficient witnesse against them before men and angels, that they abandon all civill authority, although for to serve their owne turnes of others or their owne lusts, they say they do not: the Apostle *Jude* long since, tels us of such persons expressly who despise Dominion and speake evill of Dignities

Dignities, 1. They doe not only deſpiſe theſe or thoſe particular perſons or ſtates that are inveſted with Dominion; but they deſpiſe Dominion it ſelfe and Dignities themſelves, and would have all that power abandoned, whom he calleth *v:8.* filthy dreamers, defiling the fleſh, murmurers and complainers walking after their owne luſts, their mouthes ſpeaking great ſwelling words, *v. 16.* And that it may yet more fully appeare that theſe men doe abandon all civill authority, (although this ſecret they will not impart unto all, but rather profeſſe the contrary) there is extant to bee ſhewen if need were, the writings betweene a prudent man in this Country, and one of the chiefe, and moſt underſtanding of this peculiar fellowſhip (as they ſtile themſelves) wherein hee doth ſtoutly maintaine theſe three aſſertions, 1. That there are no Ordinances. 2. That there are no relations neither in the Common-wealth betweene rulers and ſubjects, nor in the Church between officers and brethren, nor in the families betweene husband and wife, maſter and ſervant, father and ſonne. 3. That there are no inherent graces in Chriſtians. By which principles the world may ſee what theſe men goe about, *viz.* as much as in them lies to bring in a diſorder and confuſion in all ſtates and families, and to open the fluce to all violence, injuſtice, and wickedneſſe, by not only abandoning, but reproaching and reviling all civill rule and authority upon earth, which they therefore ſcornefully call a meere device of man, Idols, to be of the Devill, “the deſtroyer of mankinde, and to bee a crucifying of Chriſt in “his life and death, and all this when honourable, wiſe, learned, experienced, well reported perſons are choſen and inveſted with Civill power, whom therefore they would not have maintained, and to whom it is as unlawfull to adminiſter any oath for the ending of civill differences, as to luſt after a woman to commit adultery, *Pag. 20.*

III. *Their blaſphemous ſpeeches againſt the holy things of God.*

1. **A**gainſt the Churches, they call them deviſed platformes *Pag. 26.* “*Pag. 26.* and that the wiſedome of men is the whole accompliſhment (or that which gives the whole being) of Churches and Common-wealth. *Pag. 10.*
2. “Againſt

Pag. 11. 2. "Against the calling of Ministers, they say, that to make their "calling mediate and not immediate, is to make a nullity of Christ, "and to crucifie Christ, and to put him to an open shame, and that "such Ministers are Magicians, Pag. 34.

Now this reflects upon all the Ordinances and ordinary Officers and Ministers of Christ, that either are or have beene in the Church at any time, for although the offices bee immediately from Christ, yet their call to exercise this office hath beene ever accounted mediate.

Pag. 36. 3. "Against the word of God, they call the Sermons of Gods "Ministers *tales*, or *lies* and *falshoods*, now had they thus spoken upon prooffe against any particular Sermons, or persons, the accused might have spoken for themselves, but indifferently to revile all Sermons as tales or forgeries, the doctrine generally taught here amongst us, being no other then that which *Paul* preached at *Ephesus* for three yeares space and upwards, viz. repentance towards God, and faith towards the Lord Jesus, *Act. 20.* being also no other then what agrees generally with the harmony of confessions of all reformed Churches: to call these tales is a word which the Lord Jesus will certainly remember, unlesse they repent; the Sermons of the Apostles of Christ, as well as the doctrine of all reformed Churches, being reproached hereby.

Pag. 26. 4. Against the Sacraments: as for baptism they doe not onely make the baptizing of Infants as abominable as the croffe, but all our baptismes, "behold (say they) the vanity and abomination of all your baptismes, and they doe not meane all those baptismes which are in use amongst us, but in any Churches of the world at this day; for they acknowledge no other baptism then that which is spirituall, and hence they say, "that when ever you see the baptism of Christ truly in use according to the word of God, you "doe as truly see that party partaking and communicating with "the croffe and sufferings of Christ, for these are coaparant, now communicating in Christs sufferings in their meaning is onely spirituall, and so is therefore all baptismes. 2. As for the Lords supper scarce a greater heape of blasphemies in fewer words can come from the mouth of man against that blessed Ordinance, wherein Christ is so manifestly and sweetly present, "for they call it your disht up "dainties, turning the juice of a fillic grape that perisheth in the use "of it, into the bloud of the Lord Jesus, by the cunning skill of "your

“your Magicians, which doth make mad and drunke so many in
“the world.

5. Against repentance and humiliation for sinne, they speake somewhat obscurely, but they that know them may soone understand their meaning, which if it be this, that in a way of compunction and sorrow for sinne, a Christian is not to seeke for consolation and comfort from Christ, and to affirme that this is to make the sonne of God *Belial* and *Segnirim*, the Devill himselfe, (as they interpret it) then tis most grosse blasphemy against not onely the preaching, but practise of repentance and godly sorrow, for which the Apostle rejoiced to see in the Corinthians, *ch. 7 v. 9. 10.* and which *James* and *Peter* command and commend, *James 4. v. 9. 10.* 1 *Peter 5. v. 6.* and which way not so much *Moses* in the law but Christ in the Gospell hath sanctified to finde pardon of sinne 1 *John 1. 9.*

6. Against Christ Jesus himselfe: “they condemne our doctrine
“for affirming that Jesus Christ actually dyed and suffered onely in
“the dayes of *Herod*, and *Pontius Pilate*, when hee hanged on the
“Crosse, and that hee was crucified in truth and substance onely
“when hee appeared borne of the Virgin *Mary*: and for this doctrine wee are condemned as Wisards and Necromancers.

Now what is this but to overthrow not onely the being of Christ in the flesh, making him no other then such an one as actually suffered from the beginning of the world, and shall doe to the end of it, but also overthrowing all faith and hope of salvation in that Messiah who was incarnate in the dayes of *Herod* and *Pilate*, and in his death and sufferings, and that one perfect offering, then once for all *Heb. 10. 14.* The reader may therefore be pleased to take notice that being asked in open Court what was that Christ who was borne of the Virgin and suffered under *Pilate*? one of them answered that hee was a semblance, picture, or a shadow of what was and is done “actually and substantially in Christians; and hence the meaning of the words may bee gathered *Pag. 11.* which otherwise the wise reader may thinke to bee non-sence. *viz.* “that they are Wisards
“and Necromancers who raise a shadow without a substance (*viz.*
“to make Christ to bee slaine in types since the world began) or
“who raise the substance of him who dwels in light without a shadow, (making no more of Christ but a semblance and shadow, as themselves call it) for further explication of which they affirmed

Pag. 26.

Ex 1. pag.

They say of the forbidden fruite i. mans wisdom our Church and Common wealth is founded. 2. That the whole edifice among us is raised in the spirit an hireling. That by fulfillment of the word of God in fasting, fasting, retiring, necessity for studying, contributing, treasuring, i. for Church fees so much several Churches, they do nothing but bring forth fruite unto death.

Pag. 11.

in open Court that as the Image of God in *Adam* was Christ, ("for "God they said had but one Image) so the losse of this Image by "man was the death of Christ, and therefore'tis no wonder if they deny Christ to dye actually onely when crucified under *Pontius Pilate* because man sinned actually (which they make to be Christs death) long before; meane while the reader may take notice with a holy astonishment and horreur of the heavy curse of God in blinding these bold men with such a palpable and grosse spirit of delusion and mad phrenesies, who will make mans sinne and fall, which is the cause of perdition of men, to be the cause of the Salvation of man, for so Christs death is which they blasphemously make mans sinne to bee.

For further prooffe that they make little use of Christ and his death, then as hath been said, their owne interpretation of the slaying of the two witnesse, *Pag. 17. 18.* seemeth to confirme, for they make these two witnesse the life and the death of Christ in men, the life of Christ they call his strength, and the death of Christ they call his weaknesse, *viz.* as it is, and appeares in weake, foolish, ignorant, unexperienced, and ill-reported of men, and therefore they blameus for killing of Christs death (for it seemes it is such a death as may bee killed) in that wee chuse honourable, wise, learned men, and of good report to place of rule, excluding others.

Now some of these blasphemies might have bene the better borne if they had let Christ and his death alone, and his word alone, but to call the holy word and Sermons of Salvation *tales*, the Sacrament an abomination, madding and making drunke the world, to call the Ministers of Christ who dispenſe Word and Sacraments, Necromancers and Magicians, and they who hold and beleive him to bee the Messiah and Christ who suffered under *Pilate*, Wifards, and all this in coole blood, in the open face of the Court, obstinately refusing to alter a title of what they had writ, let the world judge if ever Antichrist that beast spoken of *Rev. 13. 5, 6.* did ever speake greater blasphemies against God, his name, and tabernacle, and whether such men deserve to live, that live thus to blaspheme; may not such civill states that tolerate such, feare that sentence of God against them as was pronounced against *Ahab* for letting blasphemous *Benhadab* escape with his life, *thy life for his life?* however mens charity may enlarge it selfe this way, yet let wisdom preserve us and make the wisehearted wary of such impostors, who want not their wiles to say
and

and unſay, as may beſt ſute their advantage, for they can hold forth at ſome time and to ſome perſons, wholeſome and orthodox truths and beare them in hand that this is all that they hold, but they have depths of abomination to give to drinke when they ſee their ſeaſons, in ſuch golden cups; they have hidden ſecrets, which their young Proſelytes ſhall not preſently ſee, much leſſe others; for ſo they tell us *Pag. 17.* “that tis not their purpoſe to open to every one the houſe “of their treaſures, the ſilver and gold, and ſpices, and precious “ointment, nor the houſe of their armour, becauſe they may take “them all as execrable and put them to a prophane uſe, nor can “every ſpirit comprehend the breadth of the land of *Emanuel*, (as “they call it *Pag. 12.*) nor know the Cherubims of glory, nor the “voice of the oracle from the Mercy-ſeate: and indeed their uncouth, tumorous and ſwelling words (as *Jude* calls them *Jude 16*). like ſwellings, and tumours of the fleſh, are the undoubted ſignes of a ſecret and ſeducing humour, whereby they are fit to deceive the ſimple and infect the ſtrong, if men bee not watchfull.

The Publiſher to the Reader.

THE reaſon wherefore nothing is answered to the great charge in his voluminous Poſtſcript, is becauſe it hath beene answered already by a former treatiſe printed: but more eſpecially becauſe many of the friends, children and kindred of the dead are in good eſteeme with us, whom I am loath to grieve.

But ſince by courſe thou art next to caſt thine eye Gentle Reader upon the ſumme of a Preſentment which the Court at *Road Iland* received from their Grand Jewry being preſent when *Samuel Gorton* had ſo much abuſed their Government in the face of the Country, yea in open Court, their owne eyes and eares bearing witneſſe thereunto, they I ſay preſented theſe abuſes to the Court, as ſuch which they conceived ought not to bee borne without ruine to their Government, and therefore beſought the bench to thinke off ſome one puniſhment for examples ſake as well as otherwiſe to bee inflicted on the Delinquent.

And therefore that thou maiſt ſee the occaſion thereof, take notice that an ancient woman having a Cow going in the field where

Samuel Gorton had some land. This woman fetching out her Cow, *Gortons* servant maid fell violently upon the woman beating and notoriously abusing her by tearing her haire about her, whereupon the old woman complaining to the Deputy Governour of the place, hee sendeth for the maid, and upon hearing the cause, bound her over to the Court. The time being come and the Court set, *Gorton* appeares himselfe in the defence of his maid, and would not suffer his maid to appeare or make answer, but said expresly she should not appeare, and that if they had any thing against her they should proceed with him. And though hee was lovingly dissuaded by some of the Bench not to engage himselfe but let his maid appeare, yet hee refused: but when hee could not bee prevailed with, the action was called and witnessees produced, sworne, and examined: which being done, hee moved for another witnesse to bee called, which hee perswaded himselfe and the Bench was an honest woman and would speake the truth. Now shee being sworne, said, *Mr. Gorton*, I can speake nothing will helpe your maid. And indeed her whole testimony was against her and for the old womans cause, whereupon hee openly said, Take heed thou wicked woman, the earth doth not open and swallow thee up. And then hee demanded of the Court if hee should have equity and justice in his cause or no? To which was answered, if he had either plea or evidence to produce in his maids cause it should be heard. Then hee nominated one *Weekes* who could say something to it. *Weekes* was called and required to take his oath before hee spake; at which *Gorton* and *Weekes* both of them jeered and laughed and told the Court they were skilled in Idols, and that was one, and stood stoutly a long time to make it good. Hereupon some of the Court put him in mind how they had forewarned him of such carriages fearing he would fall into some extreames. At length the Governour gathering up the summe of what was witnessed, commends it to the Jewry. At which time *Gorton* said, the Court had perverted Justice and wrested the witnessees, with very many high and reproachfull termes; and in the midst of his violence throwing his hands about, hee touched the Deputy Governour with his handkerchiefe buttons about his eares (who it seemes sate at a Table with his backe towards him) whereupon the Deputy said, what will you fall about my eares? To which *Gorton* answered I know not whether you have any eares or no? and if you have, I know not where they stand; but I will not touch

touch them with a paire of Tongues. The Governour often calling upon the Jewry to attend the Cause, was as often interrupted by him. Whereupon many of their Freemen being present, desired the Court they would not suffer such insolencies, professing they were troubled the Court had borne with them so long. For which in briebe, hee was committed, but when the Governour bade the Marshall take him away; hee bade take away *Coddington*, which was their Governours name: a thing I thought meet to explaine, lest thou shouldst not understand it by the Heads of the Presentment here following, abusing all and every particular of the Magistrates with opprobrious terms. But note when hee was committed upon his mutinous and seditious speeches, *Weekes*, *Holden*, &c. his abettors, stopped the way with such insolency, as the Governour was forced to rise from the Bench, to helpe forward the Command with his person, in clearing the way, put *Weekes* in the stocks, and was forced to command a guard of armed men to preserve themselves and the peace of the place: And this they did because of some fore-going jealousies; and now taking occasion to search the houses of that party that adhered to him, they found many of their peeces laden with bullet: and by meanes hereof they were forced to continue their guard, whilst upon their banishment they were forced from the Island.

And however it were enough for a Book alone to relate all the particulars of his insolent carriage, yet take notice onely of two or three particulars: 1 When hee was censured to bee whipt and banished, he appealed to *England*; they asked to whom? Hee said with a loud voice, *To King Charles*. They told him, hee should first have his punishment, and then afterwards hee might complain. To which hee replied, take notice *I appeale to King Charles, Celo*, or *Selah*; the party who was present told mee hee could not tell which, but that word was spoken with an extraordinary high and loud voice.

A second thing to be observed, was, that after hee had been so deservedly whipt, some of his faction said, Now Christ Jesus had suffered.

And thirdly, although the weather was very cold, the Governour going away after execution of Justice upon him, yet he ran a good way after the Governour, drawing a chaine after one of his legs, the upper part of his body being still naked, and told him, He had

but lent him this, and hee should surely have it again. All this I had from a man of very good repute, who then lived with them, and was an eye and care witnesse to all these proceedings.

In the next place take notice good Reader, that when hee went from hence well whipt, as before, and entred upon his banishment, the place hee went to (in a sharpe season) was a Town called *Providence*, where Mr. *Roger Williams*, & divers others lived, who in regard of the season, entertained them with much humane curtesie, but the *Gortonians* answered all like *Aesops* snake, as thou maist read by the severall Letters of the chief Inhabitants of that place, by a notorious faction there also by them raised, to the great distraction and amazement of the Inhabitants, as appeareth by their dolefull complaints in their own Letters, a true Copy whereof I present unto thee.

a: l. 10,
read in.]

The sum of the Presentment of Samuel Gorton at Portsmouth in Roade-Island, by the Grand Jury.

First, that *Samuel Gorton* certaine dayes before his appearance at this Court, said, the Government was such as was not to bee subjected unto, forasmuch as it had not a true derivation, because it was altered from what it first was.

2 That *Samuel Gorton* contumeliously reproached the Magistrates calling them Just Affes.

3 That the said *Gorton* reproachfully called the Judges, or some of the Justices on the Bench (corrupt Judges) in open Court.

4 That the said *Gorton* questioned the Court for making him to waite on them two dayes formerly, and that now hee would know whether hee should bee tryed in an hostile way, or by Law, or in sobriety.

5 The said *Gorton* alledged in open Court, that hee looked at the Magistrates as Lawyers, and called Mr. *Easton*, Lawyer *Easton*.

6 The said *Gorton* charged the Deputy Governour to bee an Abetter of a Riot, Assault, or Battery, and professed that he would not touch him, no not with a paire of tongues: Moreover he said, I know not whether thou hast any cares, or no: as also, I think thou knowest

knowest not where thy ears stand, and charged him to be a man unfit to make a Warrant.

7 The said *Gorton* charged the Bench for wresting witnesse, in this expresseion, I professe you wrest witnesse.

8 The said *Gorton* called a Freeman in open Court (saucy Boy, and Jack-an-Apes;) and said, the woman that was upon her oath, would not speake against her mother, although she were damned where she stood.

9 The said *Gorton* affirmed that Mr. *Easton* behaved himselfe not like a Judge, and that himself was charged either basely or falsly.

10 The said *Gorton* said to the Bench, Ye intrude Oaths, and goe about to catch me.

11 The said *Gorton* being reprov'd for his miscarriage, held up his hand, and with extremity of speech shooke his hand at them, insomuch that the Freeman present said, Hee threatens the Court.

12 The said *Gorton* charged the Court with acting the second part of *Plymouth* Magistrates, who, as hee said, condemned him in the Chimney corner, ere they heard him speak.

13 The said *Gorton* in open Court did professe to maintaine the quarrell of another being his Maid-servant.

14 The said *Gorton* being commanded to prison, imperiously resisted the authority, and made open Proclamation, saying, take away *Coddington*, and carry him to prison; the Governour said again, all you that owne the King, take away *Gorton* and carry him to prison; *Gorton* replied, all you that own the King, take away *Coddington*, and carry him to prison.

William Dyre Secretary.

*Mr. Roger Williams his Letter unto Mr. VVinthrop,
concerning Samuel Gorton.*

Providence 8. 1st. 1640.

MAfter *Gorton* having foully abused high and low at *Aquednick*, is now bewitching and bemadding poore *Providence*, both with his uncleane and foule censures of all the Ministers of this Country, (for which my self have in Christs name withstood him) and also denying all visible and externall Ordinances in depth of Familisme,

Familisme, against which I have a little disputed and written, and shall (the most High assisting) to death: As *Paul* said of *Asia*, I of *Providence* (almost) All suck in his poyson, as at first they did at *Aquednick*. Some few and my selfe withstand his Inhabitation, and Towne-priviledges, without confession and reformation of his uncivill and inhumane practises at *Portsmouth*: Yet the tyde is too strong against us, and I feare (if the framer of Hearts helpe not) it will force mee to little Patience, a little Isle next to your Prudence. Jehovah himselve bee pleased to bee a Sanctuary to all whose hearts are perfect with him; In him I desire unfainedly to be

Your Worships true and affectionate

Roger Williams.

Providence this 17. of November, Anno 1641.

*To the Honoured Governour of Massachusetts, together with the
Worshipfull Assistants, and our loving Neighbours there.*

WEe the Inhabitants of the Town abovesaid, having faire occasions, counted it meet and necessary to give you true intelligence of the insolent and riotous carriages of *Samuel Gorton* and his company, which came from the Island of *Aquednick*; which continue still as sojourners amongst us; together with *John Greene*, and *Francis Weston*, two which have this long time stood in opposition against us, and against the fairest and most just and honest ways of proceedings in order and Government, that wee could rightly and truly use, for the peaceable preservation and quiet subsistence of our selves and families, or any that should have faire occasion to goe out or come in amongst us. Also six or seven of our Townsmen which were in peaceable Covenants with us, which now by their declamations doe cut themselves off from us, and jointly under their hands have openly proclaimed, to take party with the afore-named Companies, and so intend for ought wee can gather, to have no manner of honest order, or government either over them or amongst them, as their writings, words, and
actions

actions doe most plainly shew. It would bee tedious to relate the numberlesse number of their upbraiding taunts, assaults, and threats, and violent kinde of carriage daily practised against all that either with care or counsell seek to prevent or withstand their lewd licentious courses. Yet in briebe to commit some few of them to your moderate Judgements, lest wee our selves should bee deemed some way blinded in the occurrences of things, here is a true Copy of their Writing inclosed, which *Francis Weston* gave us the 13. of this present Moneth, they having also set up a Copy of the same on a tree in the street, in stead of satisfaction for fifteene pounds, which by way of arbitration of eight men orderly chosen, and all causes and reasons that could bee found, daily and truly examined, and considered jointly together, when hee the said *Francis Weston* was found liable to pay, or make satisfaction in Cattle or Commodities, but on the 15. of this present moneth, when wee went orderly, openly, and in a warrantable way to attach some of the said *Francis Westons* Cattle, to drive them to the Pound, to make him, if it were possible, to make satisfaction: which *Samuel Gorton* and his company getting notice of, came and quarrelled with us in the street, and made a tumultuous Hubbub; and although for our parts wee had before-hand most principally armed our selves with patience, peaceably to suffer as much injury, as could possibly bee born, to avoid all shedding of blood, yet some few drops of blood were shed on either side: And after the tumult was partly appeased, and that we went on orderly into the Corne-field, to drive the said Cattle, the said *Francis Weston* came furiously running with a flayle in his hand, and cryed out, Helpe Sirs, helpe sirs, they are going to steale my cattle, and so continued crying till *Randall Holden*, *John Greene*, and some others came running and made a great outcry, and hollowing and crying, Theeves, theeves, stealing cattle, stealing cattle, and so the whole number of their desperate company came riotously running, and so with much striving in driving, hurried away the cattle, and then presumptuously answered, they had made a rescue, and that such should bee their practise if any men at any time, in any case attach any thing that is theirs. And fully to relate the least part of their such like words and actions, the time and paper would scarce bee profitably spent, neither need wee to advise your discretions what is likely to bee the sad events of these disorders, if their bloody currents bee not either stopped,

or turned some other way. For it is plaine to us, that if men should continue to resist all manner of order, and orderly answering one of another in different cases, they will suddenly practise, not only cunningly to detain things one from another, but, openly in publike, justly or unjustly, according to their own wills disorderly take what they can come by; first pleading necessity, or to maintaine wife and family; but afterwards boldly to maintain licentious lust, like savage brute beasts, they will put no manner of difference between houses, goods, lands, wives, lives, blood, nor any thing will bee precious in their eyes: If it may therefore please you of gentle curtesie, and for the preservation of humanity and mankind, to consider our condition, and lend us a neighbour-like helping hand, and send us such assistance (our necessity urging us to bee troublesome unto you) to helpe us to bring them to satisfaction, and ease us of our burden of them, at your discretions; wee shall evermore owne it as a deed of great charity, and take it very thankfully, and diligently labour in the best measure wee can, and constantly practise to requite your loving kindnesse, if you should have occasion to command us, or any of us in any lawfull designe: And if it shall please you to send us any speedy answer, we shall take it very kindly, and bee ready and willing to satisfie the Messengers, and ever remaine

Your loving Neighbours, and respective Friends

*Joshuah Winfor
Benedict Arnold
William Mean
William Hawkings
Robert West*

*William Field
William Harris
William Wickenden
William Reinolds
Thomas Harris
Tho. Hopkins mark
Hugh Bennit
William Carpenter.*

Providence

Providence the 25. of the 3. month, 1641.

To the rest of the five Men appointed to manage the affaires of our Towne aforesaid, These are further to give you to understand; VIZ. That

I Doe not onely approve of what my neighbours before me have written and directed their Reasons to a serious consideration with us, concerning *Samuel Gorton* and his Company: but this much I say also, that it is evident and may easily bee proved, that the said *Samuel Gorton* nor his Company are not fit persons to bee received in, and made members of such a body, in so weake a state as our Town is in at present.

My Reasons are, *Viz.*

First, *Samuel Gorton* having shewed himselfe a railing and turbulent person, not onely in and against those states of Government from whence hee came, as is to bee proved; but also here in this Towne since hee have sojourned here; Witnesse his proud challenge, and his upbraiding accusations in his vilifying and opprobrious terms of, and against one of our Combination most wrathfully and shamelessly reviling him, and disturbing of him, and meddling with him, who was employed and busied in other private occasions, having no just cause so to revile and abuse him, saying also to him (and that of another state) in a base manner, they were like swine that held out their Nose to suck his blood, and that now hee and the rest of his Company would goe and wallow in it also; which are indeed words unsufferable; and also despitefully calling him Boy, as though hee would have challenged the field of him, in such an inhumane behaviour as becomes not a man that should bee thought to be fit by any reasonable men to be received into such a poor weak state as we are in at present.

Secondly, another of his Company, one who is much in esteem with him, who openly in a scornfull and deriding manner, seeing one of the five men that was chosen by the Towne, and trusted in the Towne affaires, comming towards him in the street, hee asked of one that stood by him, who that was; the other answered him, it was one of the five men appointed for managing of our Towne

affaires, or the like: Yea, said hee, Hee lookes like one of the five, which words import not onely a scorning and deriding of his person ofwhom then hee spake, but also a despising and scorning of our Civill State, as it were trampling it under foot, as they had done by other States before they came hither, who were of greater strength then wee are; for which cause I cannot see such persons to bee fit to bee received into such a State as our Towne is.

Thirdly, I cannot finde these men to bee reasonable men in their suite unto the Towne, to be received in as Townsmen, seeing they have already had a plaine denyall of their request, and that by the consent of the major part of the Towne, or very neare, &c. and are yet unanswerable; and also that they seeing that their coming to our Towne, hath brought the Towne into a hurry, almost the one halfe against the other, in which estate no Towne or City can well stand or subsist; which declareth plainly unto us, that their intent is not good, but that their abode so long here amongst us, is in hope to get the victory over one part of the Town, but specially of those that laid the first foundation of the place, and bought it even almost with the losse of their lives, and their whole estates, and afterwards to trample them under their feet, as some of their words hold forth, or else to drive them out into the same condition, to seek out a new *Providence*, and to buy it with the like hardnesse as they first bought this place; these, and many other like reasons that may be shewed, declare that they are not fit persons to be received into our meane and weake State.

Fourthly, and seeing hee who is so well knowne to bee the ring-leader unto the breach of peace, that have been so notoriously evill to bee a trouble of Civill States where hee hath lived, that are of farre greater force then wee are of, specially that State who have their Commiſſion and Authority from the Higher Powers; what may wee then expect if he could get himself in with, and amongst so many as wee see are daily ready to tread us under their feet, and his, whom he calls friends, &c. Surely, first a breach of our civill peace, and next a ruine of all such as are not of his side, as their daily practise doth declare; *Ergo*, they are not fit persons to be received into our Towne, &c.

Object. If it bee objected, as some have blasphemously said, that wee are persecutors, and doe persecute the Saints, in not receiving

receiving of them into our Towne-fellowship, &c.

Ans. To this I answer, there cannot bee proved the least shew of any persecution of those persons, either by us, or by any other amongst us to our knowledge. For 1 they have quiet abode amongst us, none molesting or troubling of them, nor any thing they have. 2 It cannot bee proved but by their owne relation, the which hath been disproved; that they were sent out from those places from whence they came for Religion, neither are they medled with here for any such matter, but rather that they themselves in their bravery are more ready to meddle with others. 3 They themselves and others of their followers, have rather been troublers and persecutors of the Saints of God that lived here before they came, and doe but waite their opportunity to make themselves manifest in that they intend; *Ergo*, it cannot bee truly said of any, that any persecution is offered by us unto them, if it could possibly be said of them that they are Saints.

Obj. But if it be further objected, that we doe not give them the liberty of men, neither doe wee afford them the bowells of mercy, to give them the meanes of livelihood amongst us, as some have said.

Ans. To this I say; 1 there is no State but in the first place will seeke to preserve its owne safety and peace. 2 Wee cannot give land to any person by vertue of our combination, except wee first receive them into our state of combination, the which wee cannot doe with them for our owne and others peace-sake, &c. 3 Whereas their necessity have been so much pleaded, it is not knowne that ever they sought to finde out a place where they might accommodate themselves, and live by themselves, with their friends, and such as will follow after them, where they may use their liberty to live without order or controule, and not to trouble us, that have taken the same course as wee have done for our safety and peace, which they doe not approve nor like of, but rather like beasts in the shape of men to doe what they shall thinke fit in their owne eyes, and will not bee governed by any State. And seeing they doe but here linger out the time in hope to get the day to make up their penny-worths in advantage upon us, we have just cause to heare the complaints of so many of our Neighbors that live in the Town orderly amongst us, and have brought in their complaints, with many reasons against them, and not to admit them, but answer them as unfit

persons to bee received into our meane State, &c.

Now if these Reasons and much more which have been truly said of them, doe not satisfie you, and the rest of our neighbours, but that they must be received into our Towne-state, even unto our utter overthrow, &c. then according to the order agreed upon by the Towne, I doe first offer my house and land within the liberty of the Towne unto the Towne to buy it of mee, or else I may, and shall take liberty to sell it to whom I may for mine advantage, &c.

William Arnold.



A
PARTICVLAR ANSWER
TO THE

Manifold Slanders and abominable Falsehoods
contained in a Book, called *Simplicities defence against
Seven-headed Policy: Wherein Samuel Gorton*
is proved a disturber of Civill Societies, despe-
rately dangerous to his Country-men
the English in *New-Engl.* and
notoriously slanderous in what
he hath Printed of them.



WHEN first I entertained the desires of the
Countrey to come over to answer the com-
plaints of *Samuel Gorton*, &c. and to render a
reason of the just and righteous proceedings of
the Countrey of *New-Engl.* in the severall parts
of it, against him being a common disturber of
the peace of all Societies where hee came, witnes

New-Plymouth, 2 *Rhode-Island*, 3 *Providence*, and lastly the *Massa-
chusetts*, being the most eminent; I little thought then to have ap-
peared in print: but comming into *England*, and finding a Booke
written by Mr. *Gorton* called *Simplicities defence against Seven-headed
policy: or, A true complaint of a peaceable people, being part of the English
in New-Engl. made unto the State of Old-England, against cruell per-
secutors united in Church-Government in those parts.* I then concei-
ved my selfe bound in duty to take off the many grosse and publike
scandalls held forth therein, to the great amazement of many ten-
der consciences in the Kingdom, who are not acquainted with his

proud

Sam. Gorton
common dif-
ber of the C
peace in all
Societies hee
there lived i

proud and turbulent carriage, nor see the Lion under his Lambeskinne coate of *simplicity and peace*. The Lord knowes how unwilling I was personally to engage: and I trust hee will also guide mee in answering his booke, as I shall bee farre from bitterneffe: tis true, time was when his person was precious in mine eies, and therefore I hope and desire onely to make a righteous and just defence to the many unworthy things by him boldly, ignorantly, proudly, and falsly published to the great dishonour of God in wronging and scandalizing his Churches, which the Lord Jesus Christ will not leave unpunished.

I know the world is full of controversies and tis my great grieve to see my dearnative Country so engaged in them, especially one godly person against another. 'Tis my present comfort I come not to accuse any; but to defend *New-England* against the injurious complaints of *Samuel Gorton, &c.* but as it comes to passe oftentimes that men wound others unavoidably in defending their persons from the violent assaults of such as draw upon them, which otherwise they would never have done: so if Mr. *Gorton* receive any such hurt (which is unavoidable) hee becomes an accessary thereunto: by forcing mee to defend the Country, without which I should bee unfaithfull.

I know the world is too full of bookes of this kinde, and therefore however I am unfitted of many things I have and could procure at home would well become a relation of the late and present state of *New England*, yet I shall now onely with as great brevity as may bee give answer to such injurious complaints as hee maketh of us. And however his Title, Preface, and every leafe of his booke may bee justly found fault with, I shall clearly answer to matters of fact, such as hee chargeth the severall Governments withall, so as any indifferent Reader may easily discern how grossly wee are abused, and how just and righteous censures were against him for disturbing the civill peace of all societies where hee came, in such a manner as no Government could possibly beare: and for the *blasphemies* for which hee was proceeded against at *Massachusetts*, they fell in occasionally by his owne meanes without any circumstance leading thereunto.

Pag. 1. And first whereas hee accuseth us in the first page of his booke to goe over to *suppresse hereticks*. 'Tis well knowne we went thither for no such end laid downe by us, but to enjoy those liberties the
Lord

Lord Iesus Christ had left unto his Church to avoid the Episcopall tyranny, and the heavy burthens they imposed, to which sufferings the kingdome by this ever to bee honoured Parliament have and doe beare witnesse to, as religious and just. And that wee might also hold forth that truth and ancient way of God wherein wee walke, which Mr. *Gorton* calls heresie. Next in the same *Pag.* hee chargeth us with *affection of Titles, &c.* To which I answer, either we must live without Government, or if wee have Governours wee must give them wee call such Titles as are futable to their offices and places they beare in Church and Common-wealth, as Governours and Assistants, Pastors, Teachers, Rulers, Deacons, &c. these are our highest Titles we give.

In his second *pag.* hee chargeth the *Massachusetts* to unite with other Colonies to the end they might bathe themselves in bloud and feed themselves fat with the lives of their brethren, &c. This is a notorious slander. 'Tis true that the *Massachusetts* new *Plimouth*, *Conectacut*, and *New-haven*, I meane the severall Colonies there entred into a civill combination, and are called by the name of the *United Colonies*, and this was occasioned by a generall conspiracy of the Indians against the body of the English there seated, together with the distracted condition of *England*, from whom we could expect no helpe at that time. But Mr. *Gorton* and his company fell at that time into more then ordinary familiarity with the *Nanohigganset Indians*, who were the principal contrivers of the Villany; who where they could not draw others to them by force or flattery, they did it by large gifts, &c. as I could prove by many testimonies of the Indians, many hundred miles asunder from each other, in which designe had not the finger of God in much mercy prevented, I had beene the first had fallen; which I forbear to relate here, being what I now doe, is but an answer to his invective,

Next in the same *pag.* hee tels us at his landing how hee found his Country men at great variance at *Boston* in point of Religion; But had not hee holpen to blow the bellows the flame might never have beene so great. And whereas hee said that Mr. *Williams* was banished thence for differing from us being a man of good report, &c. In answer, I take notice, I know that Mr. *Williams* (though a man lovely in his carriage, and whom I trust the Lord will yet recall) held forth in those times the unlawfulnessse of our Letters Patents from the King, &c. would not allow the Colours of our Nation, denied the lawfulnessse

ness of a publique oath as being needlesse to the Saints, and a prophana-tion of Gods name to tender it to the wicked, &c. And truly I never heard but he was dealt with for these and such like points: however I am sorry for the love I beare to him and his, I am forced to mention it, but God calls mee at this time to take off these aspersions.

In pag. 3. hee mentions the proceedings of the *Massachusetts* against Mr. *John Wheelwright* &c. Had it beene the will of God I would those differences had never been: But the maine difference was about a Petition by way of Remonstrance, which the Government tooke very offensive: But Mr. *Wheelwright* and they are reconciled, hee having given satisfaction, &c. In the same pag. hee wrongs the doctrine of our Churches, which is well knowne to bee sound. But whereas hee tels us in the same pag. of denying *cohabitation, and of whippings, confinement, imprisonment, chaines, fines, banishment*. I confesse all these things befell him, and most justly: for hee was bound to the good behaviour at *Plimouth* and brooke his bonds in the face of the Court, whipt and banished at *Road Island* for mutinie and sedition in the open Court there: also at *Providence* as factious there though his party grew greater then Mr. *Williams* his better party, as appears by his and their sad letters to the Government of the *Massachusetts* for helpe and advice; and afterwards banished the *Massachusetts*: all which appears in another place of this booke, and the just causes of their proceedings annexed thereunto. Lastly in this pag. hee tels us of his hardship divers nights together, that himselfe and the rest of his mutinous companions, as *Weekes, Holden, &c.* endured, which was just with God and man, for extreame evils must have extreame remedies, and yet tis well knowne tis not a full dayes journey from *Road Island* to *Providence*. And whereas a stranger would thinke hee was then forced to goe to *Nanhiganset-Bay* amongst the Indians, hee went not from *Providence* till they were as weary of these Mutineeres as either *Plimouth* or *Road Island* had beene before them.

And because hee often mentioneth the hard measure hee received at *Plimouth*, still carrying it on as if difference in Religion had beene the ground of it: I thought good here to give the Reader to understand what was the ground of his troubles there, that so all men may know what Religion this man is of: for the tree is best knowne by its fruite. The first complaint that came against him for which hee was brought before authority, was by Mr. *Ralph Smith* a Minister,
who

who being of *Gortons* acquaintance received him with his family into his house, with much humanity and Christian respect, promising him as free use of it as himselfe, &c. but *Mr. Gorton* becoming troublesome, (after meanes used to remove the offences taken by *Mr. Smith*, but to no purpose, growing still more insolent) *Mr. Smith* desired him to provide elsewhere for himselfe: but *Gorton* refused, saying, hee had as good interest in the house as *Mr. Smith* had. And when hee was brought before Authority, stood stoutly to maintaine it to our amasement. But was ordered to depart and provide other wayes by a time appointed. And not long after there comming a woman of his acquaintance to *Plimouth*, divers came to the Governour with complaints against her, being a stranger, for unworthy and offensive speeches and carriages used by her. Whereupon the Governour sent to her to know her businesse, &c. and commanded her departure, and ordered the Sea-man that brought her, to returne her to the place from whence shee came, at his next passage thither. But *Gorton* said shee should not goe, for hee had occasion to employ her, &c. Hereupon the Governour (it being in the time of a Court) sent for him, and because hee had hidde her, stood in justification of his practise and refused to obey the command of the Court (who seconded the Governours order.) He was committed till hee could procure sureties for his good behaviour till the next Court which was a generall Court, and there to answer to this contempt. The time being come and the Court set, *Gorton* was called; But the Governour being wearied with speech to other causes, requested one of his Assistants who was present at his commitment and privy to the whole cause to declare the same. This Assistant no sooner stood up to shew the Country the cause of his bonds in the great affront hee had given the Government, but *Gorton* stretching out his hand towards his face said with a loud voice, *If Satan will accuse the brethren, let him come downe from Jehoshuabs right hand and stand here*, And that done, in a seditious manner turned himselfe to the people and said, with his armes spread abroad; *Yee see good people how yee are abused! Stand for your liberty; And let them not bee parties and judges*, with many other opprobrious speeches of that kinde. Hereupon divers Elders of Churches being present, desiring leave of the Governour to speake, complaining of his seditious carriage, and requested the Court not to suffer these abuses, but to inflict condigne punishment. And yet notwithstanding all wee did

to him was but to take the forfeiture of his foresaid bonds for his good behaviour. Nay being but low and poore in his estate, wee tooke not above eight or ten pounds of it, lest it might lie too heavy upon his wife and children. But he must either get new sureties for the behaviour till the next generall Court, or such time as he departed the Government, or lie in prison till hee could : now hee knowing his outrageous passions which hee could not restraints, procured sureties, but immediately left *Plimouth* and went to *Road Island*, where upon complaint of our persecutions hee found present reliefe there: yet soone afterward he abused them in a greater measure and had heavier yet too light a punishment inflicted on him, and all for breach of the civill peace and notorious contempt of Authority without the least mention of any points of Religion on the Governments part, but as before.

And whereas in *pag. 4.* Mr. Gorton further accuseth us that they were deprived and taken away from their quiet possessions, &c. Such was his carriage at *Plimouth* and *Providence* at his first settling as neither of the Governments durst admit or receive him into cohabitation, but refused him as a pest to all societies. Again in the same *pag.* he accuseth *Massachusetts* and *Plimouth* to have denied them to be in our Government, *but when wee perceived the place to bee a refuge for such as were oppressed then, &c.* 'Tis true that *Plimouth* gave way to Mr. Williams and his company to sit downe at *Providence* and have never molested them to this day, but refused Gorton and Weekes, &c. upon Weekes his solicitation when I was at *Providence* for the reasons before mentioned, &c. And for those particular relations he makes of *Robert Cole*, *William Arnold*, and *Benedict* his sonne, I wave, as not being so well acquainted with their cases, but see hee writes with a venomous pen; onely take notice he would make it a great crime in them to trade on the Sabbath (as it is) when himselfe at that time denied the sanctification of it.

In *pag. 5.* hee complains that powder was traded to the Indians and denied to them. *Answ.* If it were traded to the Indians, for my part I approve it not, it being against the expresse law of the Country, and a large penalty annexed: but there was good reason to refuse it to them which held such familiarity with Malignant Indians especially during the time of their confederacy against us.

In *pag. 6.* he speaks as if hee had beene under some censure of the
Massachusetts

Massachusetts at the time of the warrant there by him specified, how truly copied I know not: but am sure at this time he was personally under no censure of theirs.

In *pag. 7.* hee accuseth Magistrates and Ministers for bringing in all the accusations that came in against them. Who but publique persons should take notice of publique insolencies? And as for Mr. *Collens* his story I am a stranger to, but beleieve it is misreported as well as others.

In *pag. 8.* hee manifests hee durst not live under a forraigne Prince, meaning the Dutch, having never been false to his King and Country, &c. with many ignorant swelling words; as if it were treason to ones Prince to live under a forraigne State though an Ally. And in the same *pag.* hee would lay the death of Mistris *Hutchenfon* who was mother in law to Mr. *Collens*, on us: although they went from *Road Island* which is not under the *Massachusetts* where shee had lived some yeares after her remove from the *Bay*, and not from the *Massachusetts* to the Dutch of her owne accord where they were cut off by the Indians.

In *pag. 9.* he shewes how they bought lands of *Myantonimo* Prince of those parts. *Answ. 1.* Hee was not the Prince of that part as was proved publicly at *Massachusetts* himselfe being present. 2. He had no proper right in it, as is shewed at large elsewhere.

In the same *pag.* he beginneth a large letter full of railing blasphemies which continueth to *pag. 31.* and however it bee not exactly set downe as it was sent, yet I admire at Gods providence, for hee is false into the snare he laid, this being brought against him to accuse him of blasphemy, before a Committee of Parliament, who called in his book, and referred him to the House, &c. but I forbear to shew his folly here, which is referred to another place and his wickednesse discovered therein.

In *pag. 32.* hee saith the Government of the *Massachusetts* had no shew of any thing against them but Religion, and yet the whole carried on in his owne way as well as what wee now print, shewes it was in the right of two Indian *Sachims*, namely *Pumham* and *Socconoco*, who placing themselves under the protection of the *Massachusetts* complained of violence offered them by Mr. *Gorton* and his company, it being our manner both in Capitals and Criminals to doe them the like justice wee doe one to another, wherein walking by the same rules of righteousness towards them, they

have the lesse cause to take offence at us.

From *pag. 33.* forward, are many Letters which I cannot beleeve al is in them, and therfore remain jealous of his fincerity in Printing them.

In *pag. 37.* hee holds forth conversion to be the ground of the *Massachusetts* sending to them, now to that end, saith hee, they sent a Minister. 'Tis true, there was a gracious young man one Mr. *Joh. Bulkley* then a Student, but in no ministry, went to teach to the Company they sent to guard their owne Commissioners, and to bring in *Gorton* if need required: but I dare not beleeve what hee affirmes. And for the Copy of a Letter hee fathers upon the Commissioners sent by the Government of the *Massachusetts*; I conclude 'tis rather set downe upon memory then right, because of some attestations I have by me to make use on elsewhere, which seeme to hold forth the contrary, and so I doe not credit it.

In *pag. 38, & 39.* hee relates how their wives were frighted at mens presenting their muskets at them, &c. and suffering such hardships as occasioned death, &c. Which must also bee false, for honest men have depofed there was no such presentment, and that their wives came freely and familiarly to them, both before and after they were taken. So also hee affirmes our men would allow of no parley but private, or else they would dispatch them in a quarter of an houre, which I will never beleeve, because I know the men to bee men fearing God, and durst not proceed as hee relateth it.

In *pag. 40, & 41.* he also taxeth the Commissioners and souldiers with breach of Covenants in time of treaty, as, *breaking open their houses, desks, killing their cattle, &c.* All which is false, for oath is made to the contrary, which I shall make use of before my Lord of *Warwick* Governour in chiefe, and the rest of the honourable Committee for foraign Plantations in due time and place, that whereas they were by agreement to have two houses for their company being about 40 men, they made use of but one, nor did any of these things laid to their charge.

In *pag. 45.* he would make *Pumham* and *Socononoco*, the naturall subjects of *Myantonimo* their Prince; but this was disproved. And in the same page, he saith, the Magistrates suggested to the people as though there were *fear of some combination between the Indians and them.* *Answ.* I dare not say you had a hand in the depth of their conspiracy: but this I thinke you dare not deny, that *Weekes* one
of

of your stoutest Champions, lent *Myantonimo* an Armour, in which he was taken in battell against *Uncus*, who was under the protection of the English united Colonies: for which *Uncus* put him to death; and in your own book you hold forth more familiarity then becomes you.

But here it will be necessary for mee to shew you the ground of this warre. There was a people called by the name of the *Pecoats*, being a stout warlike people, who had been at warre with the *Nanohiggansets* many yeares, and were too strong for them; so also were they at some distance of affection with this *Uncus*, who was *Sachim* of a people called the *Mohegans*, neare the head of a River falleth into the sea at *Pecoat*. The chiefe *Sachim* of this people of *Pecoat*, was called *Tatobam*, a stout man. The *Nanohiggansets* and these strove who should be greatest. This *Tatobam* envied the English, and was the first stirrer and contriver of this generall Plot, that they might all joyne together to destroy the English; but the *Nanohiggansets* refused to joyne with them, knowing if that were once done, the next ruine must be their owne. Afterward having subdued many small peoples, and one as great as themselves, and and some English planting more neare then the body of our Plantations, though without wrong to him, or any of them, hee cut off Captaine *Stone* his Barke and Company, and after this killed divers stragling English. This stirred up the English to take revenge: The *Nanohiggansets* and *Uncus*, *Sachim* of the *Moheges* seeing this, because it was against their comon Enemy, offered their service to joyn with the English: the *Nanohiggansets* did no considerable service in comparison of the *Moheges*, who did as much as could be expected, but the *Nanohiggansets* rather gathered up the spoile, to the great offence of the English and *Moheges*, feldome ingaging in any fight. The English killed and destroyed this people utterly, so that those that were left remaining utterly deserted the Countrey, and the English wonne it, and are now possessed of it. After this victory, *Myantonimo* *Sachim* or Lord of the *Nanohiggansets*, and *Uncus* Lord of the *Moheges*, manifested no good blood towards each other; the English at *Hartford* where the Government for *Coneetacut* is held, hearing of it, got them together, and made a peace and threefold Covenant between the Government of *Coneetacut*, *Nanohigganset*, and *Mohege*, which was signed by the Governour of *Coneetacut*, *Myantonimo* *Sachim* of *Nanohigganset*, and *Uncus* *Sachim* of *Mohegan*. The Cove-

Covenants ran to this purpose, To confirme their League between the English and them, and either to other, and to hold forth a league of perpetuall peace between them. And in case any difference should arise between these two Indian *Sachims*, or their people, the party offended should complaine to the Governour of *Co-neetacut*, who was to mediate and to determine the controversie between his two friends and their people: And in case the injury were great, and the party wronging would not stand to the foresaid award and determination, then it should not onely bee lawfull for the wronged to right himselfe by force of Armes, but for the English party also to assist the innocent in that kind. And to this they all firmed as before.

The *Nanohigganfet Sachim* never regarded this Covenant, the *Mohege Sachim* ever faithfully observed it. But *Myantonimo* of *Nanohigganfet* had thoughts now to prosecute the *Pecoats* designe, and to destroy the English, (the *Pecoats* Nation being rooted out by Gods just judgement as before) and travels farre and neare to draw all the Indians in the Countrey into this horrid confederacy with him; but this *Uncus* would not bee wonne, though he would have taken his daughter in marriage, but ever acquainted the English with his working. At length an inferiour *Sachim*, subordinate to *Nanohigganfet* affronts him and his men, hee complains to the English, they send to this inferiour *Sachim*, hee fleights their admonition, goes on his course; whereupon the other demands leave to make warre upon him, not requiring any aide. Still the English forewarne the other party of the evill they were like to bring upon themselves; till at length they professe they have had peace enough, & now it is time to war. Whereupon the English give way to *Vncus* to revenge himselfe, he doth it; the other are beaten. Now *Myantonimo* he prepares an Army of above 1000 men, and comes upon a sudden upon *Uncus* without any respect to Covenants, and took *Uncus* at advantage, not with above 300 men; by which meanes they beset him every way in his Fort, which stands upon a point of Land between two Rivers. *Myantonimo* so dispersed his men to prevent their flight, as *Uncus* making a desperate salley with almost his full force, routed the other, flew neare upon an hundred, and forced them to fly: But Mr. *Weekes* one of *Samuel Gortons* company (as I am credibly informed) lending the Great *Sachim* a complete Armor; and having it on in the fight, was not able to fly so fast as his men,
and

and was taken by this meanes. Yet such was *Uncus* respect still to the English, as hee kept him till hee sent to the English, viz. to the Right Worshipfull *George Fenwicke* Esquire, to know what he should doe with him, who lived next to him, Hee wished him to follow their owne Custome, and to deale with him, as if hee had not advised with him, or there were no English in the land to advise withall. Hereupon hee resolved to have killed him forthwith, according to their Custome. But no sooner were the *Nanohiggansets* got home, who had lost divers Sachims, Captaines, and chiefe men in this fight, but they send to Mr. *Gorton*, &c. who sent a Note to *Uncus*, with a command by the bearer, that they put him not to death, but use him kindly and returne him. This the Messenger either said or they supposed came from the *Maffachusets* Governour, and did much daunt *Uncus* and his men: but to cleare up all, they advised with the Gent. of *Coneetacut*, who wished him to keep him prisoner, and to advise with the Commissioners of the United Colonies whereof they were part, whose meeting would bee ere long by course at the *Maffachusets*: which counsell hee followed, and entreated the Governour of *Coneetacut* (*Myantonimo* also desiring it) to keep him safe for him till then, whereupon hee was brought to *Hartford*: And many gifts were sent to the prisoner; which hee bestowed like himselfe, some on him that took him, some on *Uncus*, some on his wife, some on *Uncus* brother being a great Captaine, and some on others where he had received kindnesse, and this was all the ranfome was paid, there being not so much as a ranfome proposed by the *Nanohiggansets*, nor set down by *Uncus*. But hee advising with the Commissioners, they considering how many ways besides open hostility he had sought the life of *Uncus*, by poyson, secret murther, witchcraft, &c. advised him to put him to death, there being no safety for him whilst hee lived, being so restlesse in his practice against his life; and therefore wished *Uncus* to proceed with him according to their owne Custome towards prisoners of Warre, which is to put them to death; according to which advice he proceeded, knowing now that none of the *Engl.* would intercede for him. And hereupon *Uncus* went to *Hartford* and demanded his prisoner, and led him to an house of his owne, out of the limits of the English, and there killed him, where was an English man or two by to prevent their accustomed cruelties, in cutting off not onely the head and hands of their prisoners when they are

dead, and make bracelets of the fore-joints of their fingers,&c. but to torture them whilst living with most inhumane cruelties. After this, the *Nanohiggansets* would warre upon him in revenge of his death; wee forbade them, and at our next meeting of Commissioners to consult about the Weale publike of the United Colonies, in regard the *Nanohiggansets* pleaded they had taken a ranfome for his life, and his life also, which the other denyed; Wee sent for *Uncus*, and sent to the great *Sachims* of *Nanohigganset* to come also, or appeare by Commissioners; but they sent foure Commissioners with full authority to treat, where we found neither ranfome, nor colour of ranfome in the least measure. And so a truce was agreed on, & if *Uncus* brake it, we were then freed from our engagement to defend him any further, for they desired no more: And if the *Nanohiggansets* broke it, then it should be lawfull for us the United Colonies to take part with him, &c. But the truth is, though before they had so neare neighbours of the English, as *Gorton*, &c. and till *Myantonomo's* Government, as they were the most in number, and most peaceable of all the *Indians*, yet now they were changed, as if they had not been the people, and had their Tutors, Secretaries, and promptors to suggest their greatnesse and our weaknesse to them, as his Book witnesseth, in such manner as I am confident if the *Gortonians* (for I take the phrase from his owne Book here, never hearing it before) bee suffered to live so neare them, it will bee our ruine, or these *Indians* (which we desire not) in short time. I thought good to insert this Narration thus briefly, that the Reader might understand the ground of his many charges, calling God to witnesse I know not the least falshood related in it, but many things for brevities sake omitted worthy a history; but I am now about an answer, not an history, and therefore thus brieve. But to return.

In *pag. 47.* see how he scoffes at the Sabbath as if there were no other ground for our religious observation of it, then Mr. *Cottons* judgement. And in *pag. 48.* hee is full of many scoffs, as if hee and his *Gortonians* would not, nor did shoot at all, when as I have oath to prove they shot also at the other, but the truth is, I heard some say that their powder was so dampe and moist as they could not without great difficulty discharge a peece, which I well beleeve might bee the reason they shot no more then they did.

In *pag. 49.* hee chargeth Captaine *Cooke* with breach of Articles: And yet I have it attested upon oath, that there were none agreed on;
only

only they desired they might not goe bound; which was easily assented to, they behaving themselves quietly. And for their cattle, I never heard the number to be so great by farre; but asking the Governour of the *Massachusetts* about them, hee professed they did not amount to halfe their charges. And if any aske by what authority they went out of their own Government to do such an act? Know that his former seditious and turbulent carriage in all parts where he came, as *Plymouth, Rhode-Island*, a place of greatest liberty, *Providence* that place which relieved him in that his so great extremity, and his so desperate close with so dangerous and potent enemies, and at such a time of Conspiracy by the same Indians, together with the wrongs done to the Indians, and English under the protection of that Government of the *Massachusetts*, who complained and desired reliefe; together with his notorious contempt of all Civill Government, as well as that particular, and his blasphemies against God needlessly manifested in his proud letters to them, one whereof hee hath printed, and the other I have herewith published for him. All these considered, you shall see hereby cause enough, why they proceeded against him as a common enemy of the Countrey. And as such an one, the said Commissioners being then met together at *Massachusetts* by course, for the Weale of the whole, upon just complaint ordered and thought meet that the Government of the *Massachusetts* should call them to accompt, and proceed with them so farre as stood with righteousnesse and justice: And by their declaration thou maist easily see they went no further, for they refusing safe conduct to come to answer to the matters against them, forced them upon this charge needlessly, which they made them beare part of as before. So that here's cause enough besides blasphemy for their proceeding with them I suppose.

In pag. 51. he chargeth *New-Engl.* Ministers to pray in the streets: but take notice I have been there these 26 yeares, and better, but never heard of such a practise, till I now read it in his Book.

In pag. 52. he saith, the Governour to satisfie the people, said, *we were apprehended for divers grosse opinions, &c.* Answ. You may see in the last Section but one there was cause enough. And yet for Opinions, let mee tell you that you held, That that Image of God after which man was created was Christ; and that when *Adam* fell Christ was flaine, &c. And as for your opinion concerning Churches, Mr. *Williams* by way of sad complaint told me, you denied

any true Churches of Christ to bee in the world: also Baptisme it selfe, and the Lords Supper, Sabbath, Magistracy as it was an ordinance used amongst Christians. And for the Lords Supper, that it is but a spell, the Ministers Necromancers, and the Communicants drunke with the juice of the grape, &c. And for this last passage here mentioned, the Reader shall have it at large in a second Letter sent by him and his companions to the Government of the *Maffachusetts*, concealed by himself in his Book, though he pretendeth to have printed all, &c.

In pag. 53. as he abuseth others, so Mr. Cotton and Mr. Ward, in affirming that Mr. Ward put himselfe into a passion, and stirred up Carder to recant, &c. as being no discredit to him, because Mr. Cotton ordinarily preached that publicly once a yeare, which the next yeare he recants, &c. But Mr. Ward being in Towne, a man well knowne and reputed, I shewed him the Booke, and hee gave mee thanks, and returned this answer to it *verbatim*: Samuel Gorton having made mee a Margent note in the 53 page of his Booke, I hold my self called to make this answer to it; I cannot call to minde that ever I knew or spake with such a man as Richard Carder, nor that ever I had any speech with any prisoner at a window, nor should I need it in New-England, where there is liberty enough given for conference with prisoners in more free and convenient places. This I remember, that one Robert Potter who went in the same Ship with mee into New-England, and expressing by the way so much honesty and godlineffe as gained my good opinion and affection towards him: I hearing that hee was affected with Samuel Gortons blasphemous conceits and carriages, and therefore now imprisoned with him, I went to visit him, and having free speech with him in the open prison yard, who shedding many teares might happily move me to expresse my affection to him, which Samuel Gorton calls passion: After some debate about his new opinions, I remember I used a speech to him to this effect: That hee should doe well and wisely to make such acknowledgement of his errours as his conscience would permit; telling him that Mr. Cotton whom hee had so much revered in Old England, and New, had given him a godly example in that kinde, by a publique acknowledgement upon a solemne Fastday with many teares; That in the time when errours were so stirring, God leaving him for a time, he fell into a spirituall slumber; and had it not been for the watchfulnesse of his brethren the Elders, &c. hee might have slept on; and blessed God very cordially for awakening him, and was very thankfull to his Brethren, for
their

their watchfulnesse over him, and faithfulnessse towards him: wherein hee honoured God not a little, and greatly rejoyced the hearts of his hearers; and therefore it would bee no shame for him to doe the like.

Concerning Mr. Cotton, were I worthy, I would presume to speake that now of him, which I have said more then many times of him elsewhere, That I hold him such an eminent Worthy of Christi, as very few others have attained unto him; and that I hold my selfe not worthy to wipe his slippers for matters of grace, learning, and industry in the worke of God.

For the Author Samuel Gorton, my self and others farre more judicious, take him to bee a man whose spirit is starke drunke with blasphemies and insolencies, a corrupter of the Truth, and a disturber of the Peace where ever hee comes; I intreat him to read Titus 1. 13. with an humble heart, and that is the greatest harm I wish him.

N. W.

Thus much of the Answer and testimony of that Reverend and Grave Divine, wherein the Reader may see how Mr. Gorton abuseth all men, by casting mire and dirt in the faces of our best deserving Instruments.

In page. 54. he accuseth Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cotton for stirring up the people against them, &c. *Answ.* What they pressed in their Sermons, I was not present to heare; but this I can affirme, that from the time of their liberty to my departure from *New England*, which is not much above two moneths, I have heard many precious godly men affirme, that *Sam. Gorton* and his company needlessly in their writings and conference belched out such blasphemy as they thought God was offended with the Country for giving them the liberty they had. And that you may the better see his carriage, (it being the manner of the Countrey to let their prisoners come to heare the Word preached) Mr. Gorton, &c. being there after Mr. Cotton had ended his Sermon on a Sabbath day, asked leave to speake, which Mr. Cotton assenting to, the Governour being present gave him leave, where with a loud voice before the whole Congregation being very great, hee declared, *That the Ministry of the Word, Sacraments, Censures, and other Ordinances of Religion in the hands of Ministers, are like the silver Shrines of Diana in the hands of the craftsmen of Ephesus, &c.* And if the truth of this be questioned, I have testimony upon Oath to make it good.

In pag. 55, 56, 57. many things might bee excepted against, as

in p. 55. his great respect manifested to that government, because derived from the State of *England*, which what it was thou maist largely see in certaine Observations of a godly Divine annexed hereunto, upon his owne two contemptuous and blasphemous Letters, or rather Bookes, wherein are 48 severall aspersions cast on them. Secondly, his appealing, pag. 56. from their Justice when their Charter enjoynes none.

In pag. 56, & 57, the Questions as hee hath set them downe, and the relation about the time allowed him to give his answer; I question whether he have dealt fairely therein, because hee is so often found faulty.

To passe by his Answer, and his large explanation of himselfe, pag. 58. and come to 59. &c. and so the rest of his Answers to the Questions to 64. I answer, though I know not whether hee doe right as hee states things; yet this I know, being attested by reverend persons, That hee then maintained, *that God made man after his owne image; and that God hath but one image, and that is Christ; and this was the Incarnation of Christ, his exinanition by which we are saved.* And when it was objected, wee are not saved by the incarnation of Christ, but by the death of Christ. *True, saith hee, therefore Adam fell, and so destroyed Gods image, and that was the death of Christ.* When it was objected againe, *Adams fall was not our salvation, but condemnation, but the death of Christ was our salvation: and therefore Adams fall could not be the death of Christ.* Hee would by no meanes either revoke or explaine his speech (though much urged thereunto) to agree with the principles of Christian Religion. Being further demanded what he then thought of that Christ in whom we beleeve, borne of the *Virgin Mary*, and who suffered under *Pontius Pilate*? He answered, *That that Christ was a shadow, and but a resemblance of what is done in mee and every true Christian.* And now judge good Reader, whether this be like what hee mentioneth, or whether it were a trifle not worthy the mentioning: But if he will be so unfaithfull as to omit it, I dare not.

As for his censure, pag. 64, I know not whether it bee right set downe; and so the charge, pag. 65. wherein I dare say he wrongeth the Ministers, in saying; *They stirred up the people to famish them.*

As for his long and tedious Letter to Mr. *Green*, from page 66 to 74. I passe it by, as he saith Mr. *Green* did. But in 74. hee would make

make it an asperſion upon Mr. *Endecot* for ſaying that God had ſtirred them up to goe out of their owne *jurisdiction* to fetch them from their owne places. Take notice as it is litterally within the line of *Plimouth* Government in their Grant, yet the Indians before mentioned having ſubjected themſelves to the *Maffachuſets*, the Commiſſioners for *Plimouth* as well as thoſe for *Coneetacut*, and *New-Haven*, upon the manifold complaints and reaſons before mentioned, being met together at their ordinary time and place appointed and ordered it ſhould beſo, as appeares by the copy of their act.

At a meeting of the Commiſſioners for the United Colonies of *New-England* holden at *Boston* the ſeventh of *September* 1643.

Whereas complaints have beene made againſt Samuel Gorton and his company, and ſome of them weighty and of great conſequence; And whereas the ſaid Gorton and the reſt have beene formerly ſent for, and now lately by the generall Court of the Maffachuſets with a ſafe conduct both for their coming and returne, that they might give answer and ſatisfaction wherein they have done wrong. If yet they ſhall ſtubbornely reſuſe, the Commiſſioners for the United Colonies think fit that the Magiſtrates in the Maffachuſets proceed againſt them according to what they ſhall finde juſt; and the reſt of theſe jurisdictions will approve and concur in what ſhall be ſo warrantably done, as if their Commiſſioners had beene preſent at the conclufions, provided that this conclufion doe not prejudice the Government of Plimouth in any right they can juſtly claime unto any Tract or Tracts, &c.

By which Order it appeares they were ſtirred up and allowed by *Plimouth* it ſelfe as well as the reſt, as afore, to ſend for and deale with as indeed the common diſturbors of the peace of the Country.

And whereas in *pag. 76.* He complaineth of the Governours laſt order for breaking the order of Court, yet take it as he relates it and any underſtanding man will eaſily ſee on the other ſide the ſame leaſe that they ſtill were bound to the reſt of the Articles at their confinement, which they were now in a high way to break. And for that little Iſland called *Road Island* they were forced to ſhelter in, take notice 'tis 30 miles about, very fruitfull, and plentifully abounding with all manner of food the Country affordeth, and
hath

[Errata: l. 1. for with as deed, read with them as deed.]

hath two Townes besides many great Farmes well stocked in the same.

In *pag. 79.* Hee complaines of us for calling them *Gortonians*, and so the Indians calling them *Gortonoges* and not Englishmen, with many affected foppish vanities, phraſes and termes I never heard on before, and yet have lived in *New-England* from the beginning, being now above 26 yeares. I wiſh hee ſtudy not, nor affect theſe things, but I much feare it.

In *pag. 80.* Hee tels a tale of a tub, of *Myantonimo's* being ſlain as hee marched, which is falſe, for hee was put to death, and in an houſe, but not upon a march. And is it to bee wondered at, that two English were preſent to ſee the manner of their proceeding in ſo weighty a cauſe as one Prince putting another his perfidious enemy and captive to death, eſpecially when they were required by the Commiſſioners to forbear their accuſtomed torments and to give him honourable buriall, which they did and had thanks returned by the *Nanhigganfets* for thoſe particulars. Now if any would know how it was done? It was onely at one blow with an hatchet on the ſide of the heade as hee walked eaſily in the roome (expecting no leſſe) which fully diſpatched him at once. And thus much for answer to this charge.

To let paſſe *pag. 81.* what hee ſaith about *Myantonimo's* death as being answered before, and come to *pag. 82.&c.* where he mentioneth a conſultation held amongſt the Indians to put themſelves under the ſubjection of the State of *England, &c.* *Anſw.* Wee heard indeed of this deſperate plot by this unfaithfull people, who had beene in Covenant with the ſeverall Governments long before, but never obſerved any one Article farther then it might further their owne deſigne which was to bee abſolute Lords of the Country though with the ruine of us all. And truly had he not published this and the following diſcourſe wee could never have proved it though wee heard of it both from English and Indians. And however *Myantonimo* dyed, yet the plot liveth and continueth to this day. Now though I dare not ſay, nor doe I thinke they joyne with them in aiming at the ruine of all the English, yet they joyne with them in many of their Councels, contrive their ſturdy answers by writings, and become their Secretaries. Who knowes not that they cannot write? and who knowes not their owne answers from thoſe that come under your hands? And if the State of *England* (which
God

God defend) should establish your and their joynt propositions: then were their plot accomplished: for they might and would worke freely our ruine when as wee might not take up armes against them, but by vertue of warrant or writ from hence procured upon our complaints here, which also would bee six months in ordinary course in procuring and returning, when as in one of these all our throates might bee cut, and those hopefull beginnings so much favoured by our gracious God hitherto in a high way to bee overthrowne. Indeed wee heard further, and for my part I beleeeve it, that for the better accomplishment hereof, *Samuel Gorton* and some of his company had perswaded the *Nanohiggansets* to send the King a very large Present of Beaver and otter skins which they should bring in, and accordingly did: but withall the English reporter saith, that if he could finde favour with the Parliament, then hee would rest there: but if they frowned on him, hee doubted not to but obtaine what was meet from the King. But the times would not suffer him to publish this also, else I see wee should have had all: and this take notice of, That (as the same report testified) at his departure hee wished them by no meanes to warre with us the *United Colonies*, but compound though it cost them never so deare, but assured them at his returne hee would come strengthened with such authority and so many of his friends as that the *Nanohiggansets* and themselves should not need to feare any thing the rest of the English could doe. And that we heard these things from credible testimony and are not faigned by mee, I take the searcher of the heart to witnesse, yea say further that I beleeeve them to bee true.

His glorious seeming well-deserving acts follow in *pag.* 82. &c. to 89. but note that *Weekes*, *Holden*, and *Warner*, (though I least know the last, but am sure for the other two) were his strong Assistants in his former seditious and mutinous carriages both at *Road Island* and *Providence*, and therefore fit Commissioners as he terms them, for the accomplishing such a designe. And in *pag.* 85. note first, their compliance with the *Nanohiggansets*, and his false relation in saying *Myantonimo's* rancome was taken and his life also, which is most false, as I made appeare in my former relation. And for the Kings being our and their Judge, as in *pag.* 86. Know the Indians care no more for the King then they doe for us, whom they would destroy if they could.

And in *pag.* 88. take notice of the *Gortonists* complying and joyn-

ing with them, first, by calling them their *fellow-subjects*, and secondly, speaking of the *Mauquaggas* (whom wee ordinarily call *Mo-whakes*) as being the *most fierce and warlike people in the Country*, where (saith hee) *wee are furnished with 3700 Guns, men expert in the use of them, &c.* Now these indeed as the Switzers serve for hire. And the *Nanohiggansets* being rich have hired them to assist them in their warre. But though the *Gortonists* it seemes are interested with the *Nanohiggansets* in their strength against us, yet are they neither so many men nor have so many arms, but have too many and are very expert in them; being continually supplied by the French and Dutch, whose aime is chiefly at the trade of Furs, and hereby not onely robbe us of that should helpe to maintaine our plantations which are growing up into a Nation, but furnish the Indians with all manner of armes, which I would to God, and humbly beseech this High Court of Parliament to take into serious consideration, and treat with their severall Ambassadors about it, as a thing unreasonable in it selfe, and such as hath beene pernicious to French and Dutch, and may bee destructive to them and us, if some due course bee not taken. But to returne from my humble request to the State, to my answer to *Samuel Gorton*; although this be a most unworthy vaunt of his, yet I trust the State will make such use of it as never to suffer this desperate crew to live so neere our malicious enemies the *Nanohigansf.* and that they will not only countenance the sentence of the *Maffachusf.* Government against them, but hinder the said *Gortons* returne thither, by forbidding him to set foot on that land of *New-England* he hath filled with so many troubles in all the parts where he hath beene.

In pag. 91. Hee taxeth *Plimouth* to joyne with the *Maffachusets* to frustrate their Government by vertue of their new Charter. 'Tis true, we would have had the *Maffachusets* to have then sent, and rendered a reason to the State of their proceedings, knowing as before that Mr. *Gortons* journey was for evill and not for good: but they being then taken up with more weighty concerns neglected it: but *Plimouth* did then petition the right honourable *Robert Earle of Warwicke* the Governour in chiefe of the English plantations in *America* and the rest of that honourable Committee joyned in Commission with him, that wee might enjoy our ancient limits of Government granted in our letters Patent, and withall shewed that their Charter for the limits of it now granted, was contained
within

S.G.that Preached against Magistracy, accepts it in his person. 83

within our line of Government: and trust I shall now receive answer. Tis true also that we sent Mr. *John Brown* furnished with these following instruction to signify to all that were interessed in that new erected Government as followeth by Commission given at *New-Plimouth, Nov. 8. 1644.*

1. *That a great part of their supposed Government is within the line of the Government of New-Plimouth.*

2. *That wee assuredly knew that this ever to bee honoured House of Parliament would not, nor will when they shall know of it, take from us the most ancient Plantation, any part of the line of our Government formerly granted; it being contrary to their Principles.*

3. *To forbid them and all and every of them to exercise any authority or power of Government within the limits of our Letters Patents.*

4. *To certifie them that Cowecket is not onely within the said limits, but that the Sachim thereof and his sonnes have taken protection of this our Government. And therefore to forbid them to enter upon any part of his or their lands without due order and leave from our Government.*

Now these instructions were signed by the Governour. And Mr. *Browne* going to *Road Island* for this end came very seasonable when a publique meeting was appointed for your new Magistrates and people, (but as he reported, for a most vile end; viz. to take into consideration a new disposall of the lands formerly given out, as if some had too much and some too little, & for now respect of persons, and their estates was to bee laid aside.) And here note that Mr. *Coddington*, Mr. *Brinton*, &c. that we at *Plimouth* had special eye to, when wee commended them thither, abhorred their course, abstained from their meetings, looked upon themselves as persons in great danger, and bemoaned their condition to divers their friends, being now overwhelmed with cares and feares what would bee the issue of things. And note that now also Mr. *Samuel Gorton* that before had suffered so much by authority for his evill doing, and was come to deny it and preach against it, being now by these Inhabitants called to place, accepts it, and became a Magistrate amongst them, &c. But whereas he intimates, as if Mr. *Browne* had onely done his message (according to his instructions) in a private way from house to house, therein hee wrongs him: for hee did it publicly in the place of their Assembly, who were so daunted at it as they brake up, and did no act intended for that day, as hee related it: but some would have had him imprisoned, others punished,

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others sent to the Dutch and so for England. Yea Mr. Gorton himselfe told Mr. Brownes sonne that his father had done that which he deserved to die for, and were hee in any other place it would cost him his life. So fit for Government were these men, as to judge a peaceable claime of right without any further disturbance or stirre made should thus deserve. Neither indeed have wee further stirred then as before, ever resolving to rest in the determination of the right honourable the Governour in chiefe and the rest of his honourable Assitants of that Committee bee trusted with the affaires of the Forraigne English Plantations, assuring our selves what ever might proceed either from misinformation or want of due knowledge what was formerly done, would bee rectified upon the first information and complaint made: Such were our thoughts of them, and the justice wee expected, and still hope to receive from them. And thus much for answer to that complaint.

In pag. 92. He layeth another grosse aspersiō upon us, in saying, *There was distance and alienation of affection betweene Plimouth and the Massachusets at their first coming, each thinking I am holier then thou: and as if we were now united on purpose to scatter them.* The world knowes this to bee most false. Never people agreed better, maintaining both religious and civill Communion with each other, and helping and being helpfull one to another upon all occasions: which is so well knowne, as if hee had not more then ordinary boldnesse hee durst not affirme it. Nor came the men of *Plimouth* from *Amsterdam* as hee reporteth but *Leyden*, a people that many of that Church of *Amsterdam* would hardly allow communion withall: but his pen is no flaunder, at least will not bee where this answer shall follow it. And for his relation of the manner of the Indians mourning for their Prince his death; Truely had hee dyed a naturall death, 'tis their manner not onely so to mourne for their great *Sachims* which are Princes, but for ordinary men, women and children as hee well knoweth or might know.

In pag. 93. He further complains of *Plimouth* and *Massachusets* for offering to goe out against the *Nanohiggansets* to cut them off by the sword. And so complains also of Captaine Standish &c. *Ans.* I told you before how the Commissioners for the United Colonies meeting at *Hartford* by course, whose meeting alwayes begins the first Thursday in *Septemb.* sent for both the *Nanohiggansets* and *Uncus*, who appeared, and a league agreed on: but the *Nanohiggansets*

ganſets broke againe, and warred upon *Uncus* needleſſy. The United Colonies admoniſhed them againe and againe: and after no admonition nor perſwaſions would ſerve, wee were then forced to call the Commiſſioners together at an extraordinary ſeaſon on purpoſe, who finding it meet to take up Armes in the behalfe of *Vncus* our Confederate, whom by the agreement of the *Nanohigganſets* fundry times, at divers meetings wee were bound, and it was made lawfull to doe. Hereupon the Commiſſioners agreeing as before, ſent out their Warrants to their ſeverall and ſpeciall Governments, and accordingly Forces were raiſed at a dayes warning. But before this, in ſtead of hearkening to righteous Counſell, they threatened alſo the Engliſh, ſaying, they would make heapes of our dead bodies and cattle, as high as their houſes, burne our habitations, make ſpoile of our goods, and uſed our Meſſengers very diſcourteouſly, &c. And for Captaine *Standiſh*, this I heard him relate, that being at the place of Rendezvouze, before the *Maſſachuſets* Forces came, obſerving that ſome of the Inhabitants of *Providence* received the *Indians* into their houſes familiarly, who had put themſelves alſo into a poſture of Armes, and the place within a mile of *Secunck* or *Rhehoboth* where Captaine *Standiſh* lay; hee ſent to *Providence*, and required them to lay aſide their neutrality, and either declare themſelves on the one ſide or other: For the warre being once begun, hee would not beare with their carriage in entertaining, furniſhing, and relieving the common enemy, but would diſarm them, &c. And whether neceſſity put him not upon this courſe, or no, let the Reader judge.

And for the five hundred pound, 'tis true their hearts fayled to ſee *Plymouth* Forces appeare, and *Maſſachuſ.* both Horſe and Foot upon their march on the one ſide their Countrey, under Mr. *Edw. Gibbons* who was choſen Generall of the United Colonies, with the help of *Woofamequin*, whoſe conſtancy to *Plymouth* is welknown, and *Pumham* and *Socononoco* with reference to *Maſſachuſets* with all their men, attending the Engliſh word of command. And on the other ſide their Countrey the forces of *Coneetacut* and *Newhaven*, with all the ſtrength of *Uncus*, waiting but for the word from the Commiſſioners to fall on. Now I ſay they were daunted eſpecially becauſe it came ſo ſuddenly upon them, wanting Mr. *Gorton* and his friends who were not yet come; Hereupon they reſolved to go to the

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Commissions to *Maffachus.* and compound, and did signe new Articles to observe the peace not onely with the United Colonies but with *Uncus*, *Woofamequin*, *Pumham*, and *Socononoco*, and other our Confederates, including all the English in the land, to make satisfaction for wrongs to *Vncus*, and to pay five hundred pounds to the united Colonies, for the charge they put us to, which indeed would not neare make it good, if they had paid it: but as at other times, so now, notwithstanding their Hostages, they abused us grossly, first sending false persons; secondly, breaking all other their Covenants, and came at last to a resolution, they would rather give the money (which is a Beade, as current as coin in all that part of *America*, of their owne making) to the *Mowhakes* at once, to cut us off, then to pay it according to Covenant.

And thus contrary to my resolution, I see a necessity of more large answers then I intended; and indeed otherwise I should speak riddles, and not satisfy the Reader. Although were it an History, I have many remarkable passages which here for brevity sake I must omit. And if any think wee doe needlessly ingage in the troubles betweene the *Indians*? 1. Let them know if wee should not here and there keepe correspondency with some of them, they would soone joyne all together against us. 2. The quarrall betweene *Uncus* and *Nanohigganset*, arose upon his cleaving to us: For the great *Sachim Myantonimo* would have married *Uncus* daughter, and since *Peffachus* that succeeded him would have married *Woofamequins* daughter, and all in policy to take them off from us; so that indeed wee are necessitated to it. And 3. we are not out of hope in time to bring them to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, as will appear by a small Treatise of that kinde. But this one thing I desire the Reader to take notice of, that when that great Prince *Myantonimo* hee so much admires, had offered violence to *Woofamequin* (who was under the protection of *Plymouth*) and missing his person, returned onely with the plunder of his goods: Upon *Woofamequins* complaint to *Plymouth*, that Government alone, it being before the Union, sent Captain *Standish* with a few men, not above 20. who sent a message over the Bay of Salt water which parts *Woofamequin* from them, *Either to make restitution of his goods so injuriously taken, or else to expect him to fetch them with a vengeance to their cost.* Hereupon they sent over every particular that could bee demanded, even to a wooden dish, and salved up all againe; but this was before
any

any malignant English sate down so neare them, and held counsell with them, before they had violated our persons to them, reported us to bee base and low, out of favour with the King and State, &c. things very unworthy, abominable to be named, but that in defending the abused Governments of the Country, I am forced to dang such strokes at these proud and turbulent enemies of the Countrey.

Next in *pag. 94.* that hee relateth of Mr. *Williams*; viz, the messengers taking him with them that were sent to the *Nanohiggansets*, in that troublesome time, viz. *being one cast out of the Church* (Mr. *Cotton* should preach) *It was all one to take counsell of a witch, and that those that did it were worthy to die.* Upon which Mr. *Wilbour* one of the messengers *was ready to die*, saith hee, *for feare hee should have been hanged.* This I cannot beleieve for these two Reasons: 1. Because all men that know Mr. *Cotton*, know his moderation, wisdome and piety to bee such, as such an expresseion was not like to drop from him. 2. The strictest Government in *New-Engl.* that I know, takes no advantage in the law at a mans person for being excommunicated; insomuch as if he have an office, he holds it neverthelesse, and this, I know practised, and therefore his relation unlike. But that the Messengers were directed to another for their interpreter I know, and that some took offence at their practise I know also, but upon different grounds, which I forbear to mention, being now to answer Mr. *Gorton*, and not Mr. *Williams*.

In *pag. 93.* which is the last *page* in his Booke that I shall need to make answer to, and the thing hee there brings against us is an answer to a doctrine one of their wives should heare delivered at *Masachusets* when shee came to visit them, from *Matth. 24. 29. and aluding to Hebr. 12. 26, 27.* briefly this doctrine there delivered, *should make the doctrine of the Apostles and the Churches in their times to bee but darknesse. That the Ministry of the Apostles was and should be removed,* &c. which I desire the Reader to turne to; but bee assured through Gods mercy, by meanes of the late Bishop of *Canterburies* persecutions of the godly here, wee are so excellently furnished with shining Lights of the Gospel, as no such blasphemous trash as this could bee there delivered, and so many able hearers, as if it should have been delivered by any, the Lord with-drawing his presence from him, it would have been forthwith excepted against and published to the world. But I am confident if such a thing were there heard, it was either from one of their owne company,

pany, or disciples made by them. And therefore I will passe by the answer also, as not concerning any difference between him and us, and so the rest of his writings to that end, and could wish that *Narcissus*-like hee were not so much in love with his owne shadow, lest it prove his ruine; there needing no other matter against him then his owne words and writings to render him odious to the State here, as well as to *New-England* from whence he came.

AND now that I have finished what I conceive necessary concerning Mr. *Gortons* scandalous and slanderous Bookes, let me briefly answer some objections that I often meet withall against the Country of *New-England*. The first that I meet with is, concerning the rise and foundation of our *New-England* Plantations; It being alledged (though upon a great mistake by a late Writer) that division or disagreement in the Church of *Leyden*, was the occasion, nay cause of the first Plantation in *New-England*; for saith the Author, or to this effect, when they could no longer agree together, the one part went to *New-England*, and began the Plantation at *Plymouth*, which he makes the mother, as it were, of the rest of the Churches, as if the foundation of our *New-England* Plantations had been laid upon division or separation, then which nothing is more untrue: For I perswade my selfe, never people upon earth lived more lovingly together, and parted more sweetly then wee the Church at *Leyden* did, not rashly in a distracted humour, but upon joynt and serious deliberation, often seeking the minde of God by fasting and prayer, whose gracious presence we not onely found with us, but his blessing upon us from that time to this instant, to the indignation of our adversaries, the admiration of strangers, and the exceeding consolation of our selves, to see such effects of our prayers and teares before our pilgrimage here bee ended. And therefore briefly take notice of the true cause of it.

'Tis true, that that poor persecuted flock of Christ, by the malice and power of the late Hierarchy were driven to *Leyden* in *Holland*, there to beare witnesse in their practise to the Kingly Office of Christ Jesus in his Church: and there lived together ten yeares under the United States, with much peace and liberty: But our Reverend Pastor Mr. *John Robinson* of late memory, and our grave Elder Mr. *William Brewster*, (now both at rest with the Lord) considering

sidering amongst many other inconveniences, how hard the Country was where we lived, how many spent their estate in it, and were forced to return for *England*; how grievous to live from under the protection of the State of *England*; how like wee were to lose our language, and our name of English; how little good wee did, or were like to do to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath; how unable there to give such education to our children, as wee our selves had received, &c. They, I say, out of their Christian care of the flock of Christ committed to them conceived, if God would bee pleased to discover some place unto us (though in *America*) and give us so much favour with the King and State of *England*, as to have their protection there, where wee might enjoy the like liberty, and where the Lord favouring our endeavours by his blessing, wee might exemplarily shew our tender Country-men by our example (no lesse burthened then our selves) where they might live, and comfortably subsist and enjoy the like liberties with us, being freed from Antichristian bondage, keep their names and Nation, and not onely bee a meanes to enlarge the Dominions of our State, but the Church of Christ also, if the Lord have a people amongst the Natives whither hee should bring us, &c. Hereby in their grave Wisdomes they thought wee might more glorifie God, doe more good to our Countrey, better provide for our posterity, and live to be more refreshed by our labours, then ever wee could doe in *Holland* where we were.

Now these their private thoughts upon mature deliberation they imparted to the Brethren of the Congregation, which after much private discussion came to publike agitation, till at the length the Lord was solemnly sought in the Congregation by fasting and prayer to direct us, who moving our hearts more and more to the worke, wee sent some of good abilities over into *England* to see what favour or acceptance such a thing might finde with the King. These also found God going along with them, and got Sir *Edwin Sands* a religious Gentleman then living, to stirre in it, who procured Sir *Robert Nawnton* then principall Secretary of State to King *James* of famous memory, to move his Majesty by a private motion to give way to such a people (who could not so comfortably live under the Government of another State) to enjoy their liberty of Conscience under his gracious protection in *America*, where they would endeavour the advancement of his Majesties Domini-

ons, and the enlargement of the Gospel by all due meanes. This his Majesty said was a good and honest motion, and asking what profits might arise in the part wee intended (for our eye was upon the most Northern parts of *Virginia*) 'twas answered, Fishing. To which hee replied with his ordinary asseveration, *So God have my Soule 'tis an honest Trade, 'twas the Apostles owne calling, &c.* But afterwards he told Sir *Robert Nawnton*, (who took all occasions to further it) that we should confer with the Bishops of *Canterbury* and *London*, &c. Whereupon wee were advised to persist upon his first approbation, and not to entangle our selves with them-which caused our Agents to repair to the *Virginia* Company, who in their Court demanded our ends of going; which being related, they said the thing was of God, and granted a large Patent, and one of them lent us 300 *l. gratis* for three yeares, which was repaid.

Our Agents returning, wee further sought the Lord by a publique and solemn Fast, for his gracious guidance. And hereupon wee came to this resolution, that it was best for one part of the Church to goe at first, and the other to stay, *viz.* the youngest and strongest part to goe. Secondly, they that went should freely offer themselves. Thirdly, if the major part went, the Pastor to goe with them; if not, the Elder onely. Fourthly, if the Lord should frowne upon our proceedings, then those that went to returne, and the Brethren that remained still there, to assist and bee helpfull to them, but if God should bee pleased to favour them that went, then they also should endeavour to helpe over such as were poore and ancient, and willing to come; these things being agreed, the major part stayed, and the Pastor with them for the present, but all intended (except a very few, who had rather wee would have stayed) to follow after. The minor part, with Mr. *Brewster* their Elder, resolved to enter upon this great work (but take notice the difference of number was not great;) And when the Ship was ready to carry us away, the Brethren that stayed having againe solemnly sought the Lord with us, and for us, and we further engaging our selves mutually as before; they, I say, that stayed at *Leyden* feasted us that were to goe at our Pastors house being large, where wee refreshed our selves after our teares, with singing of Psalmes, making joyfull melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of the Congregation very expert in Musick; and indeed it was
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the sweetest melody that ever mine eares heard. After this they accompanied us to *Delphs Haven*, where wee were to imbarque, and there feasted us againe; and after prayer performed by our Pastor, where a flood of teares was poured out, they accompanied us to the Ship, but were not able to speake one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part: but wee onely going aboard (the Ship lying to the Key) and ready to set sayle, the winde being faire) wee gave them a volley of small shot, and three peeces of Ordinance, and so lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed, and found his presence with us in the midst of our manifold straits hee carryed us thorow. And if any doubt this relation, the *Dutch*, as I heare, at *Delphs Haven* preserve the memory of it to this day, and will inform them.

But falling with *Cape Cod* which is in *New-England*, and standing to the Southward for the place wee intended, wee met with many dangers, and the Mariners put back into the Harbour of the *Cape*, which was the 11. of *November*, 1620. where considering Winter was come, the Seas dangerous, the season cold, the winds high, and being well furnished for a Plantation, we entered upon discovery, and settled at *Plymouth*, where God being pleased to preserve and enable us, wee that went, were at a Thousand pounds charge in sending for our Brethren that were behinde, and in providing there for them till they could reape a crop of their owne labours. And so good Reader, I have given thee a true and faithfull account, though very briefe, of our proceedings, wherein thou seest how a late Writer, and those that informed him, have wronged our enterprife. And truly what I have written, is far short of what it was, omitting for brevity sake many circumstances, as the large offers the *Dutch* offered us, either to have removed into *Zealand* and there lived with them: or if we would go on such adventures, to goe under them to *Hudsons River* (where they have since a great plantation, &c.) and how they would freely have transported us, and furnished every family with cattle, &c. Also the English Merchants that joyned with us in this expedition, whom wee since bought out, which is fitter for an History, then an answer to such an Objection, (& I trust will be accomplished in good time.) By all which the Reader may see there was no breach between us that went, and the brethren that stayed, but such love as indeed iseldome found on earth.

And for the many plantations that come over to us upon notice of Gods blessing upon us, whereas 'tis falsly said, they tooke *Plimouth* for their president as fast as they came. 'Tis true I confesse that some of the chiefe of them advised with us (coming over to be freed from the burthenfome ceremonies then imposed in England) how they should doe to fall upon a right platforme of worship, and desired to that end since God had honoured us to lay the foundation of a Common-weale, and to settle a Church in it, to shew them whereupon our practice was grounded; and if they found upon due search it was built upon the Word, they should be willing to take up what was of God. We accordingly shewed them the Primitive practice for our warrant, taken out of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles written to the severall Churches by the said Apostles together with the Commandements of Christ the Lord in the Gospell, and other our warrants for every particular wee did from the booke of God. Which being by them well weighed and considered, they also entred into Covenant with God and one with another to walke in all his wayes revealed, or as they should bee made knowne unto them, and to worship him according to his will revealed in his written word onely, &c. So that here also thou maist see they set not the Church at *Plimouth* before them for example, but the Primitive Churches were and are their and our mutuall patternes and examples, which are onely worthy to be followed, having the blessed Apostles amongst them which were sent immediately by Christ himselfe and enabled and guided by the unerring Spirit of God. And truly this is a patterne fit to bee followed of all that feare God, and no man or men to bee followed further then they follow Christ and them.

Having thus briefly shewed that the foundation of our *New-England* Plantations was not laid upon Schisme, division, or Separation, but upon love, peace, and holinesse; yea, such love and mutuall care of the Church of *Leyden* for the spreading of the Gospell, the welfare of each other, and their posterities to succeeding generations, as is seldome found on earth: And having shewed also that the Primitive Churches are the onely pattern which the Churches of Christ in *New-England* have in their eye, not following *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Knox*, *Ainsworth*, *Robinson*, *Amies*, or any other, further then they follow Christ and his Apostles; I am earnestly requested to cleare up another grosse mistake which caused many, and still doth,

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to judge the harder of *New-England*, and the Churches there, because (say they) *The Church of Plymouth which went first from Leyden, were Schismaticks, Brownists, rigid Separatists, &c. having Mr. Robinson for their Pastor, who made, and to the last professed separation from other the Churches of Christ, &c. And the rest of the Churches in New-England holding communion with that Church, are to bee reputed such as they are.*

For answer to this aspersiō, First, he that knew Mr. Robinson, either by his Doctrine daily taught, or hath read his Apology published not long before his death, or knew the practise of that Church of Christ under his government, or was acquainted with the wholesome counsell he gave that part of the Church which went for *New-England* at their departure and afterward, might easily resolve the doubt, and take off the aspersiō.

For his Doctrine, I living three yeares under his Ministry, before we began the worke of Plantation in *New-England*; It was alwayes against separation from any the Churches of Christ, professing and holding communion both with the *French* and *Dutch* Churches, yea, tendering it to the *Scots* also, as I shall make appeare more particularly anon. Ever holding forth how wary persons ought to bee in separating from a Church, and that till Christ the Lord departed wholly from it, man ought not to leave it, onely to beare witnesse against the corruption that was in it. But if any object, he separated from the Church of *England*, and wrote largely against it; I acknowledge hee wrote largely against it, but yet let me tell you, hee allowed hearing the godly Ministers preach and pray in the publick Assemblies; yea, hee allowed private communion not onely with them, but all that were faithfull in Christ Jesus in the Kingdome and elsewhere upon all occasions; yea, honored them for the power of godlinesse above all other the professors of Religion in the world, nay, I may truly say, his spirit cleaved unto them, being so well acquainted with the integrity of their hearts, and care to walke blamelesse in their lives, which was no small motive to him to perswade us to remove from *Holland*, where wee might probably not onely continue *English*, but have and maintain such sweet communion with the godly of that Nation, as through Gods great mercy we enjoy this day.

'Tis true, I confesse he was more rigid in his course and way at first, then towards his latter end; for his study was peace and union

rence between those that grounded their practise upon the Word of God (tho differing from us in the exposition or understanding of it) and those that hated such Reformers and Reformation, and went on in Antichristian opposition to it, and persecution of it, as the late Lord Bishops did, who would not in deed and truth (whatever their pretences were) that Christ should rule over them. But as they often stretched out their hands against the saints; so God hath withered the Arm of their power, thrown them down from their high & lofty seats, and slain the chiefe of their persons, as well as the Hierarchy, that he might become an example to all those that rise against God in his Sabbath, in the preaching of his Word, in his Saints, in the purity of his Ordinances. And I heartily desire that others may heare and feare withall.

As for the *Dutch*, it was usuall for our Members that understood the language, and lived in, or occasionally came over to *London*, to communicate with them, as one *John Jenny* a Brewer long did, his wife and family, &c. and without any offence to the Church: So also for any that had occasion to travell into any other part of the Netherlands they daily did the like: And our Pastor *Mr. Robinson* in the time when Arminianisme prevailed so much, at the request of the most Orthodox Divines, as *Poliander*, *Festus*, *Homliu*, &c. disputed daily against *Episcopius* (in the Academy at *Leyden*) and others the grand champions of that error, and had as good respect amongst them, as any of their own Divines; Infomuch as when God took him away from them and us by death, the University, and Ministers of the City accompanied him to his grave with all their accustomed solemnities; bewailing the great losse that not onely that particular Church had, whereof he was Pastor; but some of the chief of them sadly affirmed, that all the Churches of Christ sustained a losse by the death of that worthy Instrument of the Gospel. I could instance also divers of their members that understood the English tongue, and betook themselves to the communion of our Church, went with us to *New-England*, as *Godbert Godbertson*, &c. Yea, at this very instant, another called *Moses Symonson*, because a child of one that was in communion with the *Dutch* Church at *Leyden*, is admitted into Church-fellowship at *Plymouth* in *New-England*, and his children also to Baptism, as well as our own, and other *Dutch* also in communion at *Salem*, &c.

And for the *French* Churches that we held, and do hold communion

nion with them, take notice of our praetise at *Leyden*, viz. that one *Samuel Terry* was received from the *French Church* there, into communion with us; also the wife of *Francis Cooke* being a *Walloone*, holds communion with the Church at *Plymouth*, as she came from the *French*, to this day, by vertue of communion of Churches; There is also one *Philip Delanoy* born of *French* parents, came to us from *Leyden* to *New-Plymouth*, who comming to age of discerning, demanded also communion with us, & proving himself to be come of such parents as were in full communion with the *French Churches*, was here upon admitted by the Church of *Plymouth*; and after upon his removal of habitation to *Duxburrow* where *M. Ralph Partridge* is Pastor of the Church; and upon Letters of recommendation from the Church at *Plymouth*, hee was also admitted into fellowship with the Church at *Duxburrow*, being six miles distant from *Plymouth*; and so I dare say, if his occasions lead him, may from Church to church throughout *New-England*. For the truth is, the *Dutch* and *French Churches* either of them being a people distinct from the world, and gathered into an holy communion, and not Nationall Churches, nay, so far from it, as I verily beleve the sixth person is not of the Church, the difference is so small (if moderately pondered, between them and us) as we dare not for the world deny communion with them.

And for the Church of *Scotland*, however wee have had least occasion offered to hold communion with them; yet thus much I can and doe affirme, that a godly Divine comming over to *Leyden* in *Holland*, where a Booke was printed, Anno 1619. as I take it, shewing the nullity of *Perth* Affembled, whom we judged to bee the Author of it, and hidden in *Holland* for a season to avoid the rage of those evill times (whose name I have forgotten;) This man being very conversant with our Pastor *Mr. Robinson*, and using to come to hear him on the Sabbath, after Sermon ended, the Church being to partake in the Lords Supper, this Minister stood up and desired hee might, without offence, stay and see the manner of his administration, and our participation in that Ordinance; To which our Pastor answered in these very words, or to this effect, *Reverend Sir, you may not onely stay to behold us, but partake with us, if you please, for wee acknowledge the Churches of Scotland to be the Churches of Christ, &c.* The Minister also replied to this purpose, if not also in the same words; *That for his part hee could comfortably partake with the Church, and willingly would, but that it is possible some of his brethren of Scotland*
might

might take offence at his act; which he desired to avoid in regard of the opinion the English Churches which they held communion withall had of us: However he rendered thanks to Mr. *Robinson*, and desired in that respect to be onely a spectator of us. These things I was earnestly requested to publish to the world by some of the godly Presbyterian party, who apprehend the world to bee ignorant of our proceedings, conceiving in charity that if they had been knowne, some late Writers and Preachers would never have written and spoke of us as they did, and still doe as they have occasion: But what they ignorantly judge, write, or speak of us, I trust the Lord in mercy will passe by.

In the next place, for the wholsome counsell Mr. *Robinson* gave that part of the Church whereof he was Pastor, at their departure from him to begin the great worke of Plantation in *New-England*, amongst other wholsome Instructions and Exhortations, hee used these expressions, or to the same purpose; We are now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again: but whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his blessed Angels, to follow him no further then he followed Christ. And if God should reveal any thing to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his Ministry: For he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to breake forth out of his holy Word. He took occasion also miserably to bewaile the state and condition of the Reformed Churches, who were come to a period in Religion, and would goe no further then the instruments of their Reformation: As for example, the *Lutherans* they could not be drawne to goe beyond what *Luther* saw, for whatever part of Gods will he had further imparted and revealed to *Calvin*, they will rather die then embrace it. And so also, saith he, you see the *Calvinists*, they stick where he left them: A misery much to bee lamented; For though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them: And were they now living, saith hee, they would bee as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. Here also he put us in mind of our Church-Covenant (at least that part of it) whereby wee promise and covenant with God and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written Word: but withall exhorted us to take heed what

we received for truth, and well to examine and compare, and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth, before we received it; For, saith he, *It is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick Antichristian darknesse, and that full perfection of knowledge should breake forth at once.*

Another thing hee commended to us, was, that wee should use all meanes to avoid and shake off the name of *Brownist*, being a meer nick-name and brand to make Religion odious, and the professors of it to the Christian world; and to that end, said hee, I should be glad if some godly Minister would goe over with you, or come to you, before my comming; For, said hee, there will bee no difference between the uncomformable Ministers and you, when they come to the practise of the Ordinances out of the Kingdome: And so advised us by all meanes to endeavour to close with the godly party of the Kingdome of *England*, and rather to study union then division; viz. how neare we might possibly, without sin close with them, then in the least measure to affect division or separation from them. And be not loath to take another Pastor or Teacher, saith hee, for that flock that hath two shepherds is not indangered, but secured by it. Many other things there were of great and weighty consequence which he commended to us, but these things I thought good to relate, at the request of some well-willers to the peace and good agreement of the godly, (so distracted at present about the settling of Church-government in the Kingdom of *England*) that so both sides may truly see what this poor despised Church of Christ now at *New-Plymouth in New-England*, but formerly at *Leyden in Holland*, was and is; how far they were and still are from separation from the Churches of *Christ*, especially those that are Reformed.

'Tis true, we profess and desire to practise a separation from the world, & the works of the world, which are works of the flesh, such as the Apostle speaketh of, *Ephes. 5. 19, 20, 21. 1 Cor. 6. 9, 10, 11. and Ephes. 2. 11, 12.* And as the Churches of Christ are all Saints by calling, so we desire to see the grace of God shining forth, (at least seemingly, leaving secret things to God) in all we admit into church fellowship with us, & to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their sins, that neither the holy things of God, nor the communion of the Saints may be leavened or polluted thereby. And if any joyning to us formerly, either when we lived at *Leyden in Holland*, or since we came to *New-England*, have with the manifestation of their
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faith and profession of holiness held forth therewith separation from the Church of *England*, I have divers times, both in the one place, and the other, heard either *Mr. Robinson* our Pastor, or *Mr. Brewster* our Elder stop them forthwith, shewing them that wee required no such things at their hands, but only to hold forth faith in Christ Jesus, holiness in the feare of God, and submission to every Ordinance and appointment of God, leaving the Church of *England* to themselves, and to the Lord before whom they should stand or fall, and to whom wee ought to pray to reforme what was amiss amongst them. Now this Reformation we have lived to see performed and brought about by the mighty power of God, this day in a good measure, and I hope the Lord Jesus will perfect his work of Reformation, till all be according to the good pleasure of his will. By all which I desire the Reader to take notice of our former and present practise notwithstanding all the injurious and scandalous taunting reports are passed on us. And if these things will not satisfie, but wee must still suffer reproach, and others for our sakes, because they and wee thus walke, our practise being for ought wee know, wholly grounded on the written Word, without any addition or humane invention knowne to us, taking our patterne from the Primitive Churches, as they were regulated by the blessed Apostles in their owne dayes, who were taught and instructed by the Lord Jesus Christ, and had the unerring and all-knowing Spirit of God to bring to their remembrance the things they had heard: I say, if wee must still suffer such reproach, notwithstanding our charity towards them who will not be in charity with us; Gods will be done.

The next aspersion cast upon us, is, that we will not suffer any that differ from us never so little to reside or cohabite with us; no not the Presbyterian Government which differeth so little from us. To which I answer, our practise witnesse the contrary. For 'tis well knowne that *Mr. Parker* and *Mr. Noyce* who are Ministers of the Church at *Newberry* are in that way and so knowne so farre as a single Congregation can be exercised in it; yet never had the least molestation or disturbance, and have and finde as good respect from Magistrates and people as other Elders in the Congregationall or Primitive way. 'Tis knowne also that *Mr. Hubbard* the Minister at *Hengam* hath declared himselfe for that way: nay which is more then ever I heard of the other two, hee refuseth to

baptize no children that are tendred to him (although this liberty stands not upon a Presbyterian bottome) and yet the Civill State never molested him for it: onely comming to a Synod held in the Country the last yeare, which the Magistrates called, requesting the Churches to send their Elders and such other as might bee able to hold forth the light of God from his written word in case of some doubts which did arise in the Country: I say hee comming the last sitting of the Assembly which was adjourned to the eighth of *June* next, was in all meeknesse and love requested to bee present and hold forth his light hee went by in baptizing all that were brought to him, hereby waving the practise of the Churches, which he promising to take into consideration they rested in his answer. So also 'tis wel known, that before these unhappy troubles arose in *England* and *Scotland*, there were divers Gentlemen of *Scotland* that groaned under the heavy pressaries of those times, wrote to *New-England* to know whether they might freely be suffered to exercise their Presbyterianiall government amongst us. And it was answered affirmatively they might: and they sending over a Gentleman to take a view of some fit place; A River called *Meromeck* neare *Ipswich* and *Newberry* afore said, was shewed their Agent, which he well liked, and where wee have since four townes settled, and more may bee for ought I know, so that there they might have had a compleate Presbytery and whither they intended to have come: but meeting with manifold crosses being halfe Seas thorow they gave over their intendments, and as I have heard these were many of the Gentlemen that first fell upon the late Covenant in *Scotland*: by all which will easily appeare how wee are here wronged by many; and the harder measure as wee heare imposed upon our brethren for our sakes, nay pretending our example for their president. And last of all, not long before I came away certaine discontented persons in open Court of the *Massachusetts*, demanding that liberty, it was freely and as openly tendred to them; shewing their former practices by mee mentioned: but willed not to expect that wee should provide them Ministers &c. for the same, but getting such themselves they might exercise the Presbyterian Government at their libertie, walking peaceably towards us as wee trusted we should doe towards them. So that if our brethren here shall bee restrained they walking peaceably, the example must not be taken from us, but arise from some other principle.

But

But it will not bee objected though you deale thus with the Presbyterian way, yet you have a severe law against Anabaptists, yea one was whipt at *Massachusetts* for his Religion? and your law banisheth them? *Answ.* 'Tis true, the *Massachusetts* Governement have such a law as to banish, but not to whip in that kinde. And certaine men desiring some mitigation of it; It was answered in my hearing. 'Tis true, we have a severe law, but wee never did or will execute the rigour of it upon any, and have men living amongst us, nay some in our Churches of that judgement, and as long as they carry themselves peaceably as hitherto they doe, wee will leave them to God, our selves having performed the duty of brethren to them. And whereas there was one whipt amongst us; 'tis true wee knew his judgement what it was: but had hee not carried himselfe so contemptuously towards the Authority God hath betruisted us with in an high exemplary measure, wee had never so censured him: and therefore he may thank himself who suffered as an evill doer in that respect. But the reason wherefore wee are loath either to repeale or alter the law, is, Because wee would have it remaine in force to beare witnesse against their judgement and practise which we conceive them to bee erroneous.

And yet neverthelesse said the Governour to those preferred the request, you may tel our friends in *England*, whither yee are some of you going, since the motion proceedeth from such as wee know move it in love to us, wee will seriously take it into consideration at our next Generall Court. So that thou maist perceive good Reader that the worst is spoken of things in that kinde.

Furthermore in the Government of *Plimouth*, to our great grieve, not onely the Pastor of a Congregation waveth the administration of baptisme to Infants, but divers of his Congregation are fallen with him, and yet all the meanes the civill power hath taken against him and them, is to stirre up our Elders to give meeting and see if by godly conference they may bee able to convince and reclaime him, as in mercy once before they had done by Gods blessing upon their labours. Onely at the foresaid Synod, two were ordered to writeto him in the name of the Assembly, and to request his presence at their next meeting aforesaid to hold forth his light hee goeth by in waving the practise of the Churches; with promise if it be light, to walke by it: but if it appeare otherwise, then they trust hee will returne againe to the unity of practice with them. And for the o-

ther two Governments of *Conectacut* and *Newhaven*, if either have any law in force against them, or so much as need of a law in that kinde, 'tis more then I have heard on.

For our parts (I mean the Churches of *New-Engl.*) we are confident through Gods mercy, the way of God in which we walke, and according to which wee perform our Worship and service to Him, concurrerth with those Rules our blessed Saviour hath left upon record by the Evangelists and Apostles, and is agreeable with the practise of those Primitive Churches mentioned in the *Acts*, and regulated by the same Apostles, as appeareth not onely in that Evangelicall History, but in their Epistles to the severall Churches there mentioned; yet neverthelesse if any thorow tenderneffe of Conscience be otherwise minded, to such wee never turn a deafe eare, nor become rigorous, though we have the streame of Authority on our sides. Nay, if in the use of all means we cannot reclaim them, knowing the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easie to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisie, and the fruit of righteousness is sowne in peace, of them that make peace, according to *James* 3. 17, 18. And if any differing from us bee answerable to this Rule in their lives and conversations, we do not exercise the Civill sword against them. But for such as *Gorton* and his company, whose wisdom seems not to be from above, as appeareth in that it is full of envying, strife, confusion, *Jam.* 3. 15, 16. being therein such as the Apostle *Jude* speaks on, v. 8. viz. earthly, sensuall, devillish; who v. 16. despise dominion, and speak evill of dignities. These v. 12, 13. are murmurers, complainers, walkers after their own lusts, and their mouth speaketh great swelling words, being clouds without water, carried about of winds, trees whose fruit withereth, without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots, raging waves of the sea, foaming out their owne shame, wandring stars, to whom (without repentance, which I much desire to see, or hear of in him, if it may stand with the will of God) is reserved the blacknesse of darknesse for ever. These I say are to be proceeded with by another rule, and not to be borne: who suffer as evil doers, and are a shame to Religion which they professe in word, but deny in their lives and conversations. These every tender conscience abhors, and will justifie and assist the higher Powers God hath ordained, against such carnall Gospellers, who beare not the sword in vaine, *Rom.* 13. but execute Gods vengeance on such: for the Civill Magistrate is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute wrath on him that doth evil. And there-

therefore a broad difference is to be put between such evill doers, and those tender consciences who follow the light of Gods Word in their owne perswasions, (though judged erroneous by the places where they live) so long as their walking is answerable to the rules of the Gospel, by preserving peace, and holding forth holiness in their conversations amongst men.

Thus much I thought good to signify, because we of *New-England* are said to be so often propounded for an example. And if any will take us for a president, I desire they may really know what wee doe, rather than what others ignorantly or maliciously report of us, assuring my self that none will ever be losers by following us so far as we follow Christ: Which that we may doe, and our posterities after us, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, & our Father, accept in Christ what is according to him, discover, pardon, and reform what is amiss amongst us; and guide us and them by the assistance of the holy Ghost for time to come, till time shall be no more; that the Lord our God may still delight to dwell amongst his Plantations and Churches there by his gracious presence, and may goe on blessing to bless them with heavenly blessings in these earthly places, that so by his blessing they may not onely grow up to a Nation, but become exemplary for good unto others. And let all that wish well to *Sion* say *Amen*.

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FINIS.

ERRATA.

In the title of p. 9, &c. to 37. in stead, of the Magistrates of *Boston* in *New-Engl.* r. of *Massachusetts* in *New England*; p. 11. l. 27. for purpose God, r. *purpose of God*; p. 14. for day of, r. *day of the*; p. 30 l. 17. for Cope, r. *cup*; also l. 18 for cope, r. *cup*; also l. 21. for Judas, r. *as Judas*; p. 32. l. 3. leave out *to*; p. 54. l. 10. for by, r. *in*; p. 67. l. 37. for complaining, r. *complained*; p. 79. l. 26. for with as indeed, r. *with them as*; p. 83. l. 23. for and, put (p. 85. l. 6. for whom, r. *which*.

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